

The American Historical Review

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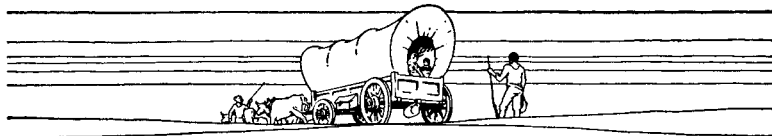
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THE GREAT DEMOBILIZATION¹

TWENTY years ago this week the American Historical Association broke the continuity of its annual reunions. It had met in Philadelphia in 1917 and had there adjourned in the expectation of reassembling in 1918 in Minneapolis. It had, however, left discretion with the Council to select a more convenient place or to postpone the meeting. The program for 1918 was fashioned in the usual manner. William Roscoe Thayer fortified himself for the occasion with a presidential address. But in the autumn of 1918 the United States was at war. The minds of our members were in no mood for detached historical retrospect and needed Cheyney's warning, given at Philadelphia, not to write in 1917 or 1918 what might be regretted in 1927 or 1928. The tentative program for Minneapolis, salvaged in the *Annual Report*, shows how thoroughly we were involved in mere historical engineering, explaining the issues of the war that we might the better win it. The Council shifted the place of meeting to Cleveland, as involving a shorter haul, and then called the meeting off.

The railroads of the nation, upon which our members would have had to travel to Cleveland, were heavy-laden with freight for France, with the nearly fifty pounds per man per day required to keep the army in the field. That unavoidable daily quota of fifty thousand tons for two million men kept the tracks crowded, whether there were bottoms waiting at the ports or not. The arrival of the "flu" had developed an additional good reason for avoiding nonessential gatherings. To give up our meeting was a small sacrifice to the doctrine of "work or fight".

So far as war congestion was concerned, it turned out that the Association might have been allowed to meet. So far as issue was concerned, the issue seemed settled, and the Association might have met in tri-

¹ Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Chicago on December 29, 1938.

umph. The National Board for Historical Service had lost its job and might as well disband. Germany was stopped. An unaccustomed unity pervaded the United States. The last ex-President was on the stump in support of the program of the President in office. The American Historical Association would have provided a proper congregation to listen to a celebration of the triumph of a body of doctrine whose phrasing had been in the American vernacular, and whose ideology was an offshoot of American historical experience. Self-determination, under a different name, had given birth to the United States and was now about to give birth to a better world. Within the United States this self-determination—Jefferson's "consent of the governed"—had contributed more to the development of the component parts than had been the case in any other empire. The right of peaceful nations to be allowed to refrain from wars not of their own choice had been cast into English sentences under our first President. The capacity of peaceful nations, driven into war, to change the outcome of the war had just been revealed to the world. The possibility of writing superlaw binding upon governmental entities had been turned into reality as the American states adjusted their lives within a Constitution admitted to be "the supreme law of the land".

But the program which had been prepared for 1918 would not have fitted the occasion had the Association met, and the program of rejoicing which would have seemed to fit the moment was never drafted. It is, however, possible to reconstruct something of the spirit which the latter would have expressed, for the air was full of oratory. The enemy, before our normal week of meeting, had yielded in the field, its government had yielded up its life, its emperor had become an exile. A glad world faced the holiday, with even the enemy peoples welcoming the peace. There was rejoicing at the thought of the new world order, outlined already in principle and needing only to be implemented to prevent more wars. And at Christmas-tide, when this Association might have shared in the rejoicing, the President of the United States, bearing the gospel of triumphant peace, was spreading his message over Western Europe. The world, without knowing it, was on one of those unhappy peaks whence, if I may mix a metaphor, mirages may be seen. It was dazzled by a mirage because it hoped; it had not yet reminded itself that, lacking wings, the only course away from any peak runs down.

There was no presidential address for us that year. But Woodrow Wilson, who was a little later to miss his chance to speak to us as president, was delivering its equivalent as he toured the capitals. "Inarticulate

America", as Dodd has said—forgetting how articulate our people were—had bidden him God-speed upon his mission. Inarticulate Europe, "peasantry, shop-keepers, and day laborers looked forward to his arrival in Europe as man looked in medieval times to the second coming of Christ". Bernard Shaw, skeptic by advertisement, took from Hearst a commission to describe the President as a Messiah; and the Hearst papers printed the tribute.

In the very week of our abandoned meeting Woodrow Wilson slept in Buckingham Palace, spoke at the Guildhall and in Manchester, and sounded the language of a war well won. He felt the "pulse of sympathy" wherever he appeared; sensed a passion no longer for any balance of interests but in "common devotion to the right"; and told the lord mayor of London, as well as all the world in whatever tongue it knew, that no such "sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed . . . the ground is clear and the foundations laid . . . we have already accepted the same body of principles".

It will be one of the enduring tasks of the younger members of our fraternity to explain the paradox of that strange winter, now twenty years gone by, when the Allied world thought the war was won, and when the chief soldier of the Allies himself said it was won sufficiently and stopped the slaughter. Strange it was, too, when the President of the United States, forgetful of his years spent in teaching the principles of congressional government, conceived that he was still the authentic spokesman of his country and when Theodore Roosevelt, near to his deathbed, bitterly blurted out the truth as he declaimed that in any other civilized country in the world Woodrow Wilson would be out of office.

If we had held our meeting, with a program so readjusted as to sound the note of victory which was in our hearts and had taken from the President of the United States our cue that as a consequence of the victory the world was on the threshold of a happier era, we should have proved to be as completely out of step with reality as Woodrow Wilson was when he sailed for Europe. Even the partisan critics of the President failed to see the fact; even those who shouted for an American free hand forever failed to see it. Neither league to enforce peace nor league of Allied nations to keep Germany suppressed was to prevail. Instead of Paradise, the world—and the United States, which is my concern at the moment—had already entered upon a clouded period to which no word implying an outcome can yet be properly applied.

We have confused our thinking for two generations by using the word "reconstruction" in connection with the years of readjustment following the Civil War. For reconstruction, if the word is to mean anything, carries a promise of some rebuilding of an old structure without razing it to the ground. The more we have imagined that the ante-bellum United States was rebuilt, the more we have deceived ourselves. We are as yet spared this particular form of self-deception in connection with the decades following 1918. No word has yet been coined to mislead the innocent. The aptest word as yet is colorless, making no promise: demobilization. Demobilization it was and is; a demobilization all the greater because the war effort had carried the world far off any normal course; demobilization so thoroughgoing as perhaps to deserve the adjective of great. My theme for the short time allowed me by our corporate habit is this Great Demobilization, as the historian of the United States will one day have to face it.

The words mobilization and demobilization entered the American vocabulary with the war. It is not that they were unknown before its day, but they were related to matters so far removed from American experience that few used or thought about them. Military terms they were, dealing principally with armed forces. But war experience had taught, by 1918, that mobilization in a world war meant more than it had in 1898 or in 1861. It involved things as well as men; it comprised not only men under arms but men and women at home, keeping them armed. Procurement had been listed beside mobilization to make its meaning clearer; priority had been added, bringing the implicit certainty that some must go without; conservation had acquired teeth as social habits were coerced to make a surplus; and the bitter term non-essential, as applied to industries and to jobs, had left a fraction of our people hanging out on limbs. Before the full implications of the word mobilization had been digested, demobilization was upon the United States, more completely without foreknowledge than mobilization had been nineteen months before. There are moments in the history of mobilization in which the government of the United States looked like a madhouse; but in demobilization there was lacking even the madhouse in which the crazy might be incarcerated. They were at large.

First things come first. Among the phases of demobilization to be lived through as the pyramid of effort sagged down to a normal horizon there was demobilization in the field of political control. This had significance for those who lived with it and for the historian, too, since no national effort going either way can be more effective than the

political machinery whereby common purpose is translated into action. On the heels of political demobilization came that of the armed forces, with veterans breaking into the oratory of their commanders to inquire profanely, "When do we sail?" There was a demobilization of the civilian effort in which work had been found for every citizen who craved a public activity. A demobilization of the emergency war controls came next—controls improvised from month to month as Congress responded to Administration lead and to pressure from the folks back home. Demobilization hit agriculture when food, planted to win the war, clogged the markets until farm equities evaporated like the morning fog. It hit the labor market, too, when men discharged from service milled around the employment offices. Private spirit, frozen to war harshness, yielded to the thaw; government ceased to commandeer savings for the common fund, and citizens turned from war economy to refill their larders and re-adorn their lives. And finally, national spirit let down as the high tensions of the war relaxed.

But, first of all, demobilization in political control began even before the guns were silent. Among the noiseless agents of that political demobilization was Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who undertook as early as February, 1918, the task of re-assembling the dispersed fragments of what still believed itself to be the dominant American party. It was a complicated task to get ready for the happy day—happy for those at least who thought with him—when there should no longer be a Democratic majority in Congress or a Democrat in the White House. The quiet perambulations of Hays await their historian. He could not, indeed, conceal his movements or deny his talks with every named variety of Republican, but he could, and did, lower his voice. Among those whose domestic feud had given office to Democrats he found everywhere a common bond, not going far beyond the desire to get rid of Democrats but going that far. He uncovered no consensus upon program, unless a temporary program might be found in the inadequacy of the Administration effort to prepare for war. Senator Chamberlain had just declared in public that "the Military Establishment of America has fallen down"; and Chamberlain was the Democratic chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. But what Democrats might say about Democrats was dangerous for Republicans to repeat. The leaders of the opposition had no desire to emerge from the period of Woodrow Wilson with their party damned for a generation by the easy charge of war disloyalty.

Before great headway in anticipation of the congressional election

of 1918 could be attained, the defects of mobilization ceased to be negotiable in politics. American troops had taken to the field. Shipments reached a new high. The troops fought well. The American audience, watching performance as the divisions of the First Army went into operation, had little use for appraisals of the wisdom which had sent them there. Even Wilson was hypnotized by the spell of action, hypnotized into declaring on the very day on which the Germans swept across the Chemin des Dames, "politics is adjourned". By midsummer it seemed hardly possible to wage political combat for a Republican regeneration of Congress or to offer good reason for unseating any member who had upheld the war.

The turn of the tide abroad made it more practicable to turn the tide of politics at home. By Labor Day the hope for victory was looking up. Almost simultaneously with the earliest German suggestion of a peace, a claim of superpatriotism among the "outs" burst into the campaign. "Unconditional surrender" became instantly a rallying cry to inspire the opposition. War unity had not been attained without effort. War strain induced a willingness to have it over without having to live forever with the "new freedom" of Woodrow Wilson; and although no one had yet given currency to the word "normalcy", there was a craving for what normalcy implied.

When the votes were cast on November 5 it was known that Germany was through and that whatever tension had for patriotic reasons kept votes behind a war Administration might safely relax itself. Political demobilization began as the votes were cast. When they were counted, the Democratic control of the House of Representatives was seen to be completely lost. It was figured as well that there was a juggler's chance that even the Senate had passed into Republican control. This meant that Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts would be chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to receive from a disavowed President whatever treaty made after victory might be offered as embodying "peace without victory".

It is easy to say that Woodrow Wilson was blind when he sailed to make his peace; it is just as easy, and quite as true, to say that no one could have foreseen how immediately the American war mind would be demobilized. When the *George Washington* took out of New York the President and all the eager coadjutors who proposed to write his treaty clauses, he was a "lame duck" leader without knowing it. The hand of his Administration was palsied thereafter; for in our American lame duck intervals, whether in short session after an adverse election

or in any biennium in which the President has had to face a hostile Congress, the American executive has been President in little more than name. Yet if Woodrow Wilson had appreciated the result of November 5 and had tried to harmonize his subsequent actions with the fact, he would have had, perhaps, no more influence upon the course of events than he retained while denying the result and holding to the belief that the temper of the people would coerce Republican leaders into compliance with his course. In any event, demobilization in the realm of politics had begun.

Demobilization of the armed forces had begun even before the battle ceased. The spurt in shipping, which after the agreements of March, 1918, turned the American contribution into a genuine reinforcement by armed men, jumped the shipments by transport to some ten thousand men per day. As the American camps were drained out through Hoboken they were refilled from the reservoir of youth. The 18-45 enrollment, authorized in the late summer, gave promise that men should flow to the battlefield so long as there should be a battle front. In the offices of the provost marshal general and of the draft boards there began the work of sorting out the thirteen million new names. The work was never completed because events moved with a rapidity beyond expectation as the enemy sought peace. Before the end of October the President turned over to his foreign military associates the question of a truce which they and the enemy would know to be unconditional surrender in thin disguise. At the beginning of November the army stopped troop shipments without admitting publicly that they were stopped. It had become apparent that the fighting was over. Before the world rejoiced at either the "false" armistice or the real one, the Administration had begun the reversal of its transport machinery for the home-coming.

There was no plan for the demobilization of the armed forces; and none would have been accepted by the men, anxious to be released, or by their people, anxious to have them back. Some of the filing cases now in Washington contain wordy proposals, urged but not adopted, for an orderly return of troops, class by class, to be fitted into jobs as jobs were found or to be sent to work new farms, for the old idea of a workable frontier hung on long after the frontier itself was gone. No theory ruled the return. The men came back from France as ships were available for them at Brest. Inductions in the United States were stopped before the backwash started. There were trains of boys en route to camp whose very trains were reversed in transit. The camps

were emptied almost by a gesture. The men in uniform put on the red chevron of discharge and went back to Main Street in some doubt whether they were returning as heroes or as so many pests. They found women in their jobs, and boys, and nonunion workers in places for whose control the labor movement had long fought. Patriotic or not, those who filled the jobs were loath to vacate them.

The numerical measure of the human demobilization is difficult to establish. Nearly 4,500,000 changed from uniforms to civilian clothes, but these represented only a part of the human problem, for perhaps as many more men and women had been in nonfighting jobs made necessary by the fact of war. War contracts were canceled or adjusted to the fact of peace. Half-finished structures, planned to supply those next campaigns which were never to be fought, were left half-finished and their hands paid off. War factories shut down. Those who received their severance pay envelopes entered the labor market to compete with former soldiers.

There was a difference in the demobilization problems as they affected soldiers who were discharged and civilians who were dismissed. Most of the former were young men who had never had named jobs before the war or attained fixed positions in society. They had been approximately ready to settle into their initial ruts when the call for troops diverted them to military duty. They came home to begin again. They now took up a postponed search for positions in the structure of civilian life, with their younger brothers, too young to have been drafted, crowding in, just ready to begin.

The latter group—civilian war workers—included older men, drawn into war work because war work was necessary and because it paid well. Many of these had acquired a more or less established status before they shifted to temporary jobs. They were men, too, whose deferred classification respecting the draft was based partly on essential jobs and partly on their family status and their dependents. These older men were no candidates for first jobs. Among them was the fraction of labor best organized before the war and most sedulously nursed by government labor agencies while they worked. For them the future demanded that they conserve their rights against both the employer and the intruding common worker.

The American labor movement had never learned what to do with common labor; nor has it yet. But the men turned loose from the war plants faced the employer, afraid lest with the return to peace he lower wages and load burdens upon his workers. They faced also mere

labor, fearing lest the unorganized should thrust themselves into the choicer jobs, upon which union men had already laid their hands. Those of us who look back for causes of the present conflict on the labor front and note the clash between the crafts and common labor must pause to examine this uneven incidence of the burden of human demobilization and to measure its importance for us in the postwar decades.

Demobilization untied the knots with which a network of voluntary civilian organizations had enmeshed the nation. It had been hard for the United States, in a minute, to reverse its trains of thought, abandon the economic policy of the Sherman Act whereby combination had been proscribed as illegal conspiracy, and improvise in place of this philosophy a doctrine of united effort brought to a sharp and single focus.

Even in advance of the declaration of war the Department of Justice had put together the outlines of an organization of listeners, working in anonymity, to apprehend sedition. The Food Administration found it could function best in liaison with state administrations of the same name; and these in turn had built up county and city structures, with committees to patrol each block. Five thousand draft boards decentralized the war, made it an effort of localities, and tied the citizen into the common effort. The Council of National Defense encouraged the creation of state councils, and these the creation of a close-meshed net resting on the grass-roots. Creel spread a screen of oratorical skirmishers across the land, with his Four-Minute Men. Through the Federal Reserve Districts the Treasury organized the bond salesmen and their neighbors, with movie stars to ornament them, and sent them out as flying squads to float war loans. The Red Cross had its local units by the thousand, with members, officers, missions, and an interlock with the War Council of the American Red Cross. Channels of communication ran freely from the home to the battle front. Anyone who should collect today the badges and buttons with which zealous co-operators advertised to their fellows their integral relationship with the common front would need a large showcase.

It is still to be determined how far this harnessing of good will advanced victory; at the very least it occupied the mind, made dissent more uncomfortable than it would otherwise have been, and made war-loyalty self-enforcing. A vacuum was left when the nets were all at once withdrawn. It had been a temporary harness, which chafed in spots. With the "false" armistice it began to relax; before Christmas

most of it was gone. There came a deflation of spirit as the necessary follow-up of prolonged activity, and with this slump came other things which the student of demobilization must study.

Perhaps two consequences connected with the abnormal effort and the ensuing slump need most to be measured. The first was the hang-over of the idea that it was someone's business to establish the correct doctrine for American life, and that with the doctrine once established it was likewise someone's business to compel the uniformity of its acceptance. The pliability of human emotion had been revealed, for the crooks and the dictators to play upon when patriots were done. The second was the evidence of results attained by closely articulated organization. The historic political parties of the United States had been pikers in comparison, as they organized their voting strength. The more their issues, the less their clarity of purpose. I am willing to defend, when I must, the advantages for the United States of a two-party system, with the parties as alike as peas; but unquestionably the system is a first-class medium for the development of single purpose propaganda. Pressure politics, offspring of organization and single purpose, seems to find some of its ancestors among the lessons learned when propaganda was a tool of war. Yet whether sound doctrine and the effectiveness of organization were the chief results or not, there came an emotional slump as another of the by-products of demobilization. And before new issues made new work for idle minds to do, our world lost its unity.

The war controls set up by law were based on statute and could not be relaxed as promptly as reason and necessity required; yet their relaxation undid some of the unities of war without restoring the diversities of peace. Where the relaxation should begin was a matter for argument. Begin it must, however, and there was no reasoned pattern for it to pursue. Control of foreign trade must be relaxed, for all imports and exports had come under license. There was a railroad administration, which some hoped to be a forerunner of a happy day when government would own the roads, which others regarded as a bitter concession to war necessity, and which still others believed to be an unnecessary intrusion of government upon a field in which performance was keeping pace with requirement. In spite of the maxim that one cannot unscramble eggs, these eggs, having been scrambled, were to be put back into shells, their own or others. Another of the war controls, unrepealed, lasted long enough to enable a President fifteen years later to commandeer gold for the United States.

Another, after the enemy had left the field, left the federal courts free to seek by injunction to send railroad men and miners back to work. Still another made possible the continuance after the armistice of loans to nations which had been associated with the United States in the war. Congress, as it could agree with itself and with the President, got rid of war restrictions and war powers, while the public mind freed itself of whatever vision of a planned economy the war effort had engendered.

When the time came, not long ago, for another concentrated national effort, the planned-controllers of 1918 hurried back to Washington to meet an enemy at home and trouble ahead. They built hurriedly upon what they thought they recalled and set the New Deal off. But in the interval elapsing since the disappearance of the military enemy, the simple pattern of war had been replaced by the intricate pattern of the more abundant life if not by the pattern of existence itself, whether abundant or not. The revulsion favoring normalcy in 1919 gathered way as the troops came back. Human demobilization of the personnel which, in Washington for a dollar a year or less, had served the war, began in November, 1918. Rumor has it that some of the servants, leaving their offices to join in celebration of the armistice, did not return even to sign their pending letters but crowded into the consolidated ticket offices of the Railroad Administration to reserve their transportation back to the rugged individualism of American life. The relaxation of the war controls, without the restoration of prewar habit, gave to this aspect of demobilization a serious bearing on our postwar life.

The picture of Cincinnatus, back-trekking to the plow, has ever been inspiring to the citizen soldier and to the lover of democracy. But the citizens of the United States, back-trekking from temporary war duty, reached home to find, in some cases, that the plow was gone, leaving in its place a complicated machine that did not need them, and in other cases that the market was gone, leaving no reward for diligence at the plow. For agriculture and industry the end of the war did not mean the return of peace. It meant, as demobilization became a fact, that unaccustomed stresses were playing over the two great fields whence most Americans had gained their livelihood and must continue to gain it.

More than one historian has indicated the degree to which the American farmer, living off his crop and decorating his life from the proceeds of the sale of his surplus, has been beneficiary of forces other

than his own effort. It required only a threat of war, in September last, for men to rush to print a prophecy that war in Europe would restore good times to farmers here. It is hard to starve a farming people, and in hard times the American farmer has kept at least alive; but in hard times or good the proceeds from the sale of his surplus have too often depended upon disaster suffered by another. Foreign war, with the United States at peace, has often made a market. Foreign pestilence has meant fancy prices for the farmer's crop. Intermittently for more than a century the greatest of agricultural nations, with food production facility greater than its appetite, had offered its surplus raw products to the world. It had sold them profitably enough to keep the American farmer above the peasant level in his mind, and even in his life. It had permitted him a vision of a life superior in its dignity to any that might be wrenched from a mere subsistence farm. American policy, for most of that century, so far as it was a policy of planning at all, was planned to the scheme of Henry Clay. American industry was built up that its workers with hungry mouths might eat some of the surplus from the farm. On the eve of the World War neither farmer nor worker thought his share of wealth was adequate, but neither had a grievance sufficiently compelling to drive him into dominant class politics and hold him there.

Class politics and demobilization came into the United States hand in hand. The state of war created a profitable market between 1914 and 1917. America as a participant demanded still more food, so that every farmer who made a crop was as a soldier, and every farmer who enlarged his acreage as an ingenious soldier. Never as badly off as farmers elsewhere, the American farmer of the war period was better off than he had ever been. In rising prices for produce and a pegged price for wheat, followed by rising prices for land, followed by an extension of acreage and greater profits, war seemed to lift the farmer to a new social plateau, measurably above that of his historic claim. Then, with demobilization, earthquake shook him off. The immediate consequence of demobilization was cessation of the extraordinary demand, so that falling prices soon wiped the profit from the crop, wiped receipts from the public tax roll, wiped income from the mortgage holder, and wiped farm equities from the estate. Hungry Europe, more hungry than ever, was too poor to buy.

There was no plan in entry to the war and none for exit; but before the troops came home deflation had begun. Before the United States formally terminated its state of war there had appeared in Washington to guide and threaten Congress the militant supporters of the influence

of organized farmers. The supporters of that influence, sitting in the Congress, had formed and admitted themselves to be an agricultural bloc. Cincinnatus came back, not to the unprofitable plow but to politics forever.

The worker came back to a labor market which hardly needed him. The millions of the mobilized, jostling for jobs, would have upset that market even had the curve of war prosperity been protracted unbroken into peace. But the curve of industry, never far away from that of agriculture, slumped with deflation on the farm. The stricken farmer, who defaulted on his debts and taxes, could not continue to be a customer. When he ceased buying, industry was forced to curtail its hiring. Before the railroads could be returned by the government to the owner companies there had to be faced a demand that they be returned to worker management. Employers were startled by the aggressive claim that workers should be paid not what industry thought it could afford but a living wage. The labor movement, nursed for the war effort, had caught a glimpse of a higher plateau for itself and struggled lest it skid. The headquarters of the embattled farmers were matched by headquarters of the labor movement, whence Gompers and his successors and his rivals mingled advice and admonition as they warned congressmen of the price of disobedience. Out of these aspects of demobilization there have sprung new philosophies of national life; but no philosophy can be much better than its historicity, and the historians have not yet done their necessary work.

There was yet another side to demobilization, which leads the historian into social habit in his effort to trace the reactions between private life and public co-operation. The war revealed American wealth. It was not known until a little later that never had Americans produced in a single year much more than the equivalent of one dollar's worth per person per day. Within that limit real, even if yet unmeasured, reserves were found, to be drained for loans and tapped for contributions to good causes and unavoidable taxes. The Capital Issues Committee made it clear that for the period of the war government need had the first call on wealth. The individual American, proud in his war economy, saved from his income and increased the dimensions of the social fund available for war. There was a wide span between the level on which Americans lived and the level on which, given a reason, they could bring themselves to live. The nation drew its maintenance from within that span during the war years, and the people lived on what was left.

Economy was endured, not liked; and with the return to peace it,

too, demobilized. One may easily measure the return of indulgence to American life as, after war, the citizen replenished his housing and its furnishing, enlarged his diet, and turned into both private investment and personal pleasure a larger than ever fraction of his income. It was war theory that soldier boys on leave should enjoy themselves. With the war once over, their sisters took their turn, and we find the elders wagging their heads in disapproval of a flapper age. We see the daughters paying more for fewer clothes. The first silk-stocking proletariat made its appearance. We see the elders disapproving youth but aping it, with dancing schools for stodgy middle age. We see those who had ever avoided the swinging doors seek them now that the Eighteenth Amendment had professed to lock them. We see new gadgets entering the market to entice the dollar: pink bath tubs, radio sets, electric refrigerators, and the innumerable homely progeny of Henry Ford. This too was demobilization in reaction from the self-control of war. By its completeness it turned a consequence into a new primary cause.

If the spirit of the individual, with barriers down, lost its self-restraint and ran riot, the spirit of the nation, from its exhausting sojourn on the plane of exaltation, came down to lower levels and lost its way. There was, indeed, a new "high" when in the autumn of 1918 the United States believed that some way, with American co-operation, a world of better organization might be built. The road to the next "low" was indicated when political exigency made it undesirable that Woodrow Wilson should be allowed to make his peace, when American atavism turned the nation's back upon Europe, and when the difficulty of writing a "peace without victory" made it seem that such a peace was beyond the power of man to write. In the break-up of the spirit of the war the war habit carried over to the extent of spreading the delusion that patterns of the mind had authentic value over and above their reasonableness and their usefulness. Men who, as patriots, had espoused the cause of patriotism, espoused now, with equal insistence if with less validity, the cause of this and that. Bryan crusaded against Darwin. The Ku Klux Klan crusaded against Jews, aliens, and Catholics. The patriotic societies allied themselves with labor to crusade against the immigrant. A mayor of this great city crusaded against King George V, who was not even an immigrant. Mr. Hearst crusaded against our colleagues, admonishing them to remember that "history teaching is the chief source of patriotic spirit and purpose" and prodding them into the preservation of ancient hates.

Teachers crusaded, under parental pressure, to the end that teaching should make students safe for their parents. And Americans of alien origin, on the rebound from the unisons of war, broke into discordance in a new variety of hyphenism.

Outside the United States the dictators said, pointing to the United States, that democracy had ceased to work. Inside the United States there was some reflection of every wishful movement which promised to restore the world.

Demobilization had begun; and if we had held that meeting of 1918 in such fashion as to commemorate the peace, we, like the President of the United States, must have celebrated that which was not and must have left unnoticed much which has touched us as the years have come. No planning by man was ever done with more conscience or with higher hope than the American planning which was taken to Versailles. The inference from its failure may be no more than that man is a hopeful creature, driven by his wish. Or it may be that the future is beyond all planners. It is clear, at least, that these men (and we in part were they) who did this planning failed in their estimate of the stresses on the world.

"The ground is clear and the foundations laid", Wilson told his Guildhall audience; but the clearing and the laying were not what he conceived. It will take our colleagues another lifetime to reduce to measurement the calamity of demobilization which, more than the creation of a new world, was in 1918 the order of the day. Normalcy was restored as little as Arcadia was built. When the jerry-built structures of the war were razed there was hauled away with them something of the past, part of the old horizon which had been taken for granted in the American landscape. As the ground was cleared it became possible to see what war had hidden: new forces whose recognition had been almost too long deferred by war. There came into sight the trails that were to become new highways across a devastated American terrain, leading to new battlefields on which to test the validity of that democracy upon which Americans continued to rely.

Another great war, should it come upon us, might indeed be won; but the student of the Great Demobilization is justified in wondering whether American society, or any society, could win another "peace".

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FRENCH GILD OPINION IN 1789

STUDENTS of the French Revolution have utilized most of the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789. One group of them, however, has been ignored, that is, the cahiers drawn up by the gild assemblies. Even Martin Saint-Léon, who has written the best history of the French gilds, made no attempt to study the gild cahiers.¹ Although many of them have been lost, partial collections have been preserved for numerous French towns, and there exist nearly complete collections for thirty-one towns, with a total of almost one thousand documents.²

¹ *Histoire des corporations de métiers depuis leurs origines . . .* (Paris, 1922). This includes a survey of the general cahiers on the gild issue and a brief treatment of the entire period from the reconstitution of the gilds in 1777 to their suppression in 1791.

² A Bibliographical Note on the gild cahiers for our thirty-one towns will be found below (p. 270). For the sake of brevity citations from cahiers and references to titles listed in this bibliography will be given under the names of the towns. A tabulation of the number of cahiers from each of the towns, distinguishing between legal gilds (L), professional gilds and *corps libéraux*, i.e., doctors, apothecaries, surgeons, printers, university professors, goldsmiths, and wholesale merchants (P), and craft gilds (C), is given here. Note that the numbers are those of the cahiers and not of the gilds of each town.

TOWN	L	P	C	TOTAL	TOWN	L	P	C	TOTAL
Alençon	5	7	18	30	Marseille	4	6	35	45
Angers	14	7	43	64	Montpellier	3	3	33	39
Bayeux	1	1	9	11	Noyon	5	2	12	19
Beaune	4	5	27	36	Orléans	11	8	26	45
Beauvais	9	5	25	39	Provins	9	5	18	32
Bergerac	1	1	18	20	Quimper				1*
Bergues		3	18	21	Quimperlé	3	2	8	14*
Bourges	12	4	20	36	Reims	13	6	19	38
Caen	8	6	29*	43	Rochefort	12	5	21	38
Chinon	2	3	14	19	La Rochelle	12	7	18	37
Compiègne	7	5	18	30	Rouen	11	7	33	51
Le Havre	1	5	16	22	St. Amand	3		11	14
Hennebont	1		9	10	St. Maixent	4	5	16	25
Issoudun	5	3	18	26	Tours	7	7	22	36
Limoges	8	7	17	32	Troyes	8	10	24	42
Lunéville	2	3	23	28					
					TOTALS	185	138	618	943

*The cutlers of Caen drew up two cahiers; a third one was left unfinished. At Quimper one document was drawn up jointly by seventeen gilds and one workmen's group. In addition to their separate cahiers, the gilds of Quimperlé drew up a joint cahier.

The foregoing list excludes sixteen cahiers emanating from workers' groups which had no legal authorization to hold assemblies or to draw up cahiers; opinions from these cahiers are not included in the present survey. The list of gild cahiers does not, of course, include the cahiers drawn up by the unorganized bourgeois of the towns.

According to the royal letter of convocation, the gildsmen of a town were to assemble by their respective gilds and choose delegates to the town assembly. Though the election of delegates was prescribed in the royal order, the making of cahiers by the gilds was permissive, not mandatory.³ Comparatively few of the gilds must have availed themselves of the right to compose cahiers, since the number of documents is not commensurate with the number of gilds known to exist, yet the documents extant present a significant expression of public opinion.⁴ Although many more than a thousand gild cahiers have been preserved, it has seemed advisable to limit the present study to the fairly complete collections where the whole picture of gild opinion in a given town may be examined.⁵

The thirty-one towns whose gild cahiers are under consideration were widely scattered and of varying size and commercial importance. Four were seaports: Le Havre, Rochefort, La Rochelle, and Marseille. Among the other towns, some were centers of internal trade, some were manufacturing centers, and some were agricultural depots whose industries produced goods for local consumption. Collections of gild cahiers are lacking for northeastern France (except Lunéville), the Rhone Valley, and southwestern France. It is also regrettable that the gilds of Paris, Lyon, and Bordeaux are not represented.⁶ The population of these thirty-one towns varied from a few thousand to nearly

³ The text of the general regulation for the convocation, issued on January 24, 1789, is given by Armand Brette, *Recueil de documents relatifs à la convocation des états généraux de 1789* (Paris, 1894), I, 66 ff. Articles 26-28 described the procedure for gild and town elections. The making of cahiers by the gilds was not mentioned in these articles. Permission to compose cahiers was given in general to all assemblies of the third estate in article 24.

⁴ Émile Levasseur believed the figure of 521 towns possessing gilds, cited from the work of Hippolyte Blanc, to be too high: *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France avant 1789* (Paris, 1901), II, 744. The minutes of gild assemblies of a great many towns exist where either no cahiers were made, or such as were made have been lost.

⁵ The gilds of Rennes, in Brittany, have not been included in the present study because the elections were exceptional and so the gild documents are hardly comparable with those of other towns. H. Sée and A. Lessort, in the official series of publications, *Cahiers de doléances de la sénéchaussée de Rennes . . .* (Rennes, 1919), I, 3-73.

⁶ The convocation for Paris prescribed elections by district, so that the 113 gilds took no official part (Brette, I, 110-11, 113-14). For Bordeaux there exists only the cahier of the innkeepers (reprinted in J. Mavidal and E. Laurent, *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, Paris, 1867-75, II, 406). A document purporting to be a summary of specific demands of over a score of Bordeaux gilds (*ibid.*, II, 407) does not bear the marks of an authentic cahier and, though of interest, is not included in the present study. Only two *procès-verbaux* of gild assemblies exist for Lyon.

ninety thousand. For this study it should be remarked that nine had a population of over 25,000, nine a population of between 10,000 and 25,000, and the other thirteen less than 10,000.⁷

The number of gild members varied greatly among the towns according to population, as would be expected. At Marseille the largest gild, that of the wholesale merchants, included over five hundred masters, whereas the largest gild of the smallest town, Quimperlé, appears to have been that of the carpenters-joiners, with thirty-five masters.⁸ There was a similar contrast in the size of the corresponding gilds in the different towns: Marseille had more than five hundred wholesale merchants, Le Havre had 146, Bergues only 17, and Quimperlé 10.⁹ The number of members in the legal gilds and in most of the professional gilds was smaller than in the craft gilds.¹⁰

How reliable are the gild cahiers as sources of the collective opinion of gild members? Documentary criticism applied to them establishes

⁷ OVER 25,000		10,000-25,000		UNDER 10,000	
Marseille	89,829	Limoges	24,003	Bergues	Saint Maixent
Rouen	68,040	Le Havre	22,059	Beaune	Provins
Orléans	41,040	Bourges	20,574	Bergerac	Hennebont
Caen	31,266	La Rochelle	17,253	Noyon	Quimperlé
Reims	30,132	Lunéville	17,091	Quimper	
Troyes	29,682	Alençon	13,149	Bayeux	
Montpellier	28,836	Issoudun	12,584	Compiègne	
Angers	28,188	Beauvais	11,961	Chinon	
Tours	28,161	Rochefort	11,934	Saint Amand	

No accurate statistics of population for the spring of 1789 are available for all of these towns. In the list given above, the figures for the towns of over 10,000 have been taken from a list of 78 towns compiled in 1787, cited by Levasseur, *La population française* (Paris, 1889), I, 227. The order used for the towns of less than 10,000 was the result of a combination of sources, no one of which applies to the entire list: the number of representatives allowed a town in the *bailliage* assemblies (Brette, *passim*, under each election district); estimates by Expilly, *Dictionnaire géographique* (Paris, 1762-70, 6 vols.); and estimates by editors of published collections of gild cahiers.

⁸ Editors of published cahiers usually indicate the number of members, e.g., Marseille, p. xxvii. For unpublished cahiers two ways of estimating the number of masters were used. One was based on the minutes of the gild assembly, which usually listed the members present, the other on the number of signatures at the end of a cahier. The figure for Quimperlé was derived from the cahier.

⁹ Figures for the first two towns were given by the editors; for the last two the number was based upon the signatures at the end of the cahiers.

¹⁰ At Marseille, whereas there were 42 lawyers and 32 goldsmiths, there were 344 shoemakers and 150 master hatters. At La Rochelle there were 12 or 13 lawyers, 20 goldsmiths, but 86 shoemakers and 20 hatters.

limitations similar to those applicable to the whole category of *cahiers de doléances*, which have been treated fully elsewhere.¹¹ Direct borrowing among cahiers and from common sources occurred, but a careful study of the minutes of gild assemblies, of the texts of the cahiers, and of the remarks prefatory to the published editions of the cahiers indicates that the majority of gild cahiers are trustworthy sources of gild opinion.¹² What light, then, can these documents throw upon the state of mind of the urban industrial class on the eve of the French Revolution?

Certain similarities in the ideas, demands, and general point of view of all the gild cahiers may be noted. In the first place, attention was overwhelmingly concentrated upon four subjects: the industrial and commercial regime, the tax system, the provincial administration, and the town administration. As compared with the general cahiers, the gild cahiers devoted little space to the estates general and problems of national sovereignty.¹³ Although many gilds enumerated legal reforms, few asked for a national law code. What was desired in tax reform was not the establishment of a uniform system for the whole of France but, rather, reforms to benefit particular towns or industries. With the notable exception of the gild cahiers of Marseille, the gilds seldom expressed patriotism or introduced their brief documents with expressions of loyalty to Louis XVI or the nation.¹⁴ In all towns except Marseille, Angers, and La Rochelle the great majority of gild cahiers concentrated upon provincial, local, and gild matters.¹⁵

A second characteristic of the gild cahiers was their evidence of strong corporate consciousness. The gildsmen were presenting the

¹¹ Beatrice Hyslop, *A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789* (New York, 1936).

¹² Limitation of space does not permit comments upon the authenticity of each collection of gild cahiers. Editors of official publications of cahiers give documentary criticism in the introduction. Some of the editors of unofficial publications give critical comment. The author of the present article has in her possession information about the authenticity of the cahiers in manuscript collections.

¹³ For an analysis of the general cahiers see Beatrice Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789* (New York, 1934).

¹⁴ Lavabre, a lawyer, was probably influential in promoting the patriotic tone of the cahiers of the gilds of Marseille (Fournier, p. xxxix). Some of the shorter gild cahiers evinced paternalism when they expressed the belief that the king would remedy evils once he learned about them, e.g., the cahier of the shoemakers of Provins, MS.

¹⁵ At Marseille 34 out of 45 gilds devoted some attention to national affairs, at Angers 45 out of 64, and at La Rochelle, 29 out of 37. Concern for national welfare took the form of requests relative to the estates general, the ministry, the national debt, and a constitution.

opinion of their own guilds and seldom assumed the role of spokesmen of the whole third estate. Guild cahiers manifested an *esprit de corps* rather than class spirit against clergy or nobles.¹⁶

A third characteristic of the guild cahiers was the relation between their length and scope and the size of the town. The larger the town, the wider the range of reforms asked for and hence the longer the majority of the cahiers; conversely, the smaller the town in population and the less its importance, the more local the scope, the fewer the demands, and the shorter the guild cahiers.¹⁷ The greater the contact between a town and the rest of France, the more national in character were the needs of the guilds. In the small towns where guilds produced goods consumed locally, the guild cahiers seldom broached national problems and were concerned with measures of the central government only as they affected their own locality or their own guild.

A fourth characteristic was the difference between cahiers emanating from the legal and professional guilds and those from the craft guilds. A greater proportion of the former began with some consideration of national affairs, and they, of course, devoted more space to legal and administrative reorganization than to industrial and commercial topics. The converse was true of cahiers from the craft guilds. These more frequently opened with complaint against burdensome taxation or against the local administration and then proceeded to commercial and industrial conditions.

The history of a town and the local political and economic importance of a particular industry resulted in the formation of an aristocracy among the guilds of the town.¹⁸ The cahiers produced by the more important guilds of each town resembled more closely the town cahier and the general cahier of the third estate of the *bailliage* than did

¹⁶ Class spirit, when expressed, took the form of a demand that voting in the estates general should be by head, that members of the third estate should be eligible for all offices, and occasionally, that only members of the third estate should be chosen as deputies for the third estate. The guilds of Marseille and of Angers manifested this class spirit more frequently than those of the other towns.

¹⁷ At Bergerac, Hennebont, and Quimperlé no national demands were included, while among the remaining towns of less than 10,000 only a few guilds gave any attention to national problems.

¹⁸ Rouen and Bourges followed the pattern of Paris, where there was a legally recognized pre-eminence of six guilds. At Marseille the wholesale merchants were naturally the most important guild. At Reims and Troyes the textile guilds assumed importance. Usually, even among the small towns, some one industry predominated.

cahiers from the less important gilds. Where influential gildsmen were chosen as representatives to successive electoral assemblies of the third estate, their influence upon the composition of the respective cahiers may be observed.¹⁹

Our attention in the present article will be devoted to the attitude of the gilds of 1789 toward the industrial and commercial organization of France. With respect to the gild regime itself the gild cahiers of the thirty-one towns may be divided into four categories: those that openly defended the gilds although calling for various reforms, those that asked for suppression, those that remained silent relative to maintenance or suppression, and those whose position was ambiguous.

Although the overwhelming majority defended the gild system, as would be expected, differences may be noted among the various towns. In the large towns—those with over 25,000 inhabitants—the majority of gilds of all towns except Angers were stanch defenders of the gild regime. At Angers almost as many gilds were silent upon the existence of gilds as defended the regime.

Among the towns of from 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants, also, the great majority of gilds supported the gild regime, but their approval was less marked. At Limoges, Le Havre, Bourges, Alençon, and Beauvais a majority of the cahiers defended the gilds, but a larger proportion were silent than among the large towns. At Rochefort and Issoudun a plurality were silent. A third of the gilds of La Rochelle were silent, others expressed a strong hostility to the bakers' and butchers' gilds, and still others defended the gild regime indirectly. At Lunéville more than a third of the gilds were silent or ambiguous in their attitude, while almost as many gilds asked for suppression as for maintenance.

Among the towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants there was a noticeably larger proportion of gild cahiers silent upon the gild issue. While the majority of gilds of Bergues, Beaune, Bergerac, Noyon, and Quimper favored the gild regime, those of Bayeux, Compiègne, and Provins were about evenly divided between maintenance and silence. In the remaining towns of this group the majority of gilds maintained silence. Few gilds of the small towns asked directly for suppression.²⁰

¹⁹ See, for example, the influence of Thouret in the cahiers of Rouen.

²⁰ Complete statistics of gild, town, and *bailliage* cahiers are here given in one table. The towns are listed in the three population groups. M stands for maintenance of gilds, N for no demands made, S for suppression, and A for ambiguity. The T column gives the opinion of the town cahier, the B column that of the *bailliage* cahier. A dash in these

How did the guilds defend themselves? As the gild cahiers were relatively short, they devoted little space to explanation of general principles or to arguments in support of reforms asked for. The majority of gild cahiers did not argue in defense of the guilds; they took for granted their continuance and merely suggested improvements. Among such guilds as did argue for maintenance the reasons given followed one of two lines: membership in a gild was a privilege earned by the masters and should not be taken away without compensation,²¹ and the guilds guaranteed a high standard of workmanship and through their supervision of manufacture eliminated fraud and inferior products.²² The nurserymen of Orléans advanced patriotic motives for keeping guilds when they claimed that otherwise foreigners would take industry away from Frenchmen. The upholsterers of the same town gave a long defense of the guilds with a pessimistic picture of the con-

latter columns means that the cahier is missing. No gild cahiers of small towns were ambiguous. Although there was a joint gild cahier at Quimper, demand for maintenance is here recorded as seventeen opinions. The figure 6 under Quimperlé includes five gild cahiers and the joint gild cahier.

TOWN	M	N	S	A	T	B	TOWN	M	N	S	A	T	B
Marseille	40	3	1	1	M	M	Limoges	21	9		2	N	N
Rouen	42	8	1		M	M	Le Havre	18	4			M	S
Orléans	36	4	5		A	S	Bourges	28	7		1	N	S
Caen	35	5	3		M	M	La Rochelle	23	11	3		S	S
Reims	35	3			M	M	Lunéville	9	5	8	6	A	—
Troyes	35	7			A	S	Alençon	20	7		3	S	A
Montpellier	37	1	1		M	S	Issoudun	5	12	6	3	—	S
Angers	36	20	2	6	A	M	Beauvais	30	9			M	M
Tours	27	8	1		M	S	Rochefort	14	18	4	2	S	S
	TOWN	M	N	S	T	B							
	Bergues	13	8		M	M							
	Beaune	20	13	3	N	N							
	Bergerac	14	6		N	M							
	Noyon	13	4	2	S	S							
	Quimper	17			N	M							
	Bayeux	5	6		N	M							
	Compiègne	15	14	1	S	M							
	Chinon	2	17		N	S							
	St. Amand	5	9		N	N							
	St. Maixent	6	19		A	S							
	Provins	15	16	1	—	S							
	Hennebont	2	8		—	—							
	Quimperlé	6	8		N	N							

²¹ E.g., masons, Le Havre, p. 74, art. 6, or masons of Angers, p. 203, art. 39.

²² E.g., goldsmiths, Marseille, p. 195, art. 1.

ditions that would result from suppression and liberty. "The thirst for gain would animate all shops."²³

The reforms asked for by gilds of various towns throw some light upon the underlying reasons for maintenance and at the same time depict the kind of industrial regime desired. Protest against government regulation and interference was shown in a number of demands. A large number of gilds opposed the levying of a tax called the twentieth of industry (*vingtième d'industrie*).²⁴ This tax had been established after the reconstitution of the gilds in 1777, following their temporary suppression by Turgot, and was levied by state inspectors who made periodic visits to the shops of gild masters. The gilds objected to the burden of the tax and also to the inquisitorial inspection, a function formerly exercised by the gilds themselves. Many gilds opposed the fees collected for trademarks on their goods. Shoemakers and saddlers objected to the mark on leather goods, goldsmiths to the mark on gold, and other gilds protested against each additional regulatory tax as an onerous burden.²⁵

Objection to the issuance of *lettres de maîtrise* also signified opposition to state interference²⁶ and must not be confused with opposition to the gild regime as such. By such letters, issued since the time of Henry IV but more frequently in the eighteenth century, craftsmen who could pay a stipulated fee to the royal treasury were granted the right to exercise a trade irrespective of the requirements of the gild for the masterhood. This had been one of the many schemes of the French kings to increase their always insufficient revenues and had always been opposed by the gilds.²⁷

A great many cahiers supported the gilds by asking for a return to the regime before Turgot. Sometimes the gilds opposed the union of several related trades and desired their separation as before suppression.²⁸ In twentieth century phraseology, this meant support of horizontal organization of industry. The old gilds had divided industry

²³ Orléans, pp. 228, 277.

²⁴ E.g., hatters, Rouen, MS., or tile merchants, Angers, p. 163, art. 5. Many cahiers of Angers voiced this opposition.

²⁵ Tanners, Bayeux, MS.; goldsmiths, Beauvais, MS.; barbers, Lunéville, MS.

²⁶ E.g., bakers, Lunéville, MS.

²⁷ Martin Saint-Léon, *passim*. The gilds had often preferred to pay a ransom for the withdrawal of *lettres de maîtrise* rather than to admit new masters by royal grant.

²⁸ E.g., cahier of the locksmiths-tinsmiths-spurriers-farriers-edged-toolmakers of Alençon, p. 87, art. 1. It is impractical to cite the full name of each craft gild referred to in this article. Most gilds, since their reconstitution in 1777-78, comprised masters of several related industries. Citations are given under the name of the most important group.

into its component processes. For example, there had been several guilds associated with leather work, with weaving, and with metal goods. The regulations of one guild were often an annoyance to other guilds dealing in the same raw material, and jurisdictional conflicts were frequent. The reconstitution of guilds in 1777-78 had aimed to unite trades engaged in the same line of industry, in other words to move toward vertical organization of industry. Complaint against other guilds and requests for return to the regime before 1776 indicated conservatism on the part of guildsmen, adherence to horizontal division of industry, and defense of former privileges.²⁹ Such guild cahiers argued that the processes combined in the new guilds were not related, that masters could not become proficient along the different lines without specific training, and hence that the standard of goods produced would suffer.³⁰

Another demand of a conservative nature and indicating preference for the regime before 1776 was the request for privileges for widows and sons of masters. When Turgot suppressed the guilds, the masterhood had become exclusive and in a measure hereditary. The requirements for becoming a master had been decreased for sons and widows of masters, while the high fees for others had kept many good workmen as journeymen or day laborers. In reconstituting the guilds in 1777 Louis XVI sought to eliminate abuses of the former regime, and one of these was the difficulty of attaining the masterhood. The fees prescribed for new masters were reduced, and by the union of several related guilds a master could practice several trades for one fee.³¹ There were no privileges for sons and widows in the newly constituted guilds. Hence request for the re-establishment of these privileges by the guild cahiers of 1789 meant a clinging to old privileges and a strong *esprit de corps*.³² Such privileges were asked by one fourth of the guild cahiers from the large towns, by nearly one tenth from the medium sized towns, and by none from the small towns.³³ It was almost exclusively the craft guilds that took this stand.

A very small number of guild cahiers asked for suppression. Only

²⁹ Complaint against other guilds appeared in at least two or three guild cahiers of each town. Such charges were more frequent at Marseille, Orléans, Reims, Troyes, Montpellier, and Tours than elsewhere.

³⁰ The dyers of Troyes gave a full indictment of the 1777 edict, pp. 97 ff.

³¹ Compare the table of old and new fees, Martin Saint-Léon, pp. 590 ff.

³² E.g., butchers, Reims, p. 85, last paragraph.

³³ There were 109 out of 404 guild cahiers from large towns, and 22 out of 289 from the medium sized towns. Defense of privileges of sons and widows was especially frequent among the guilds of Rouen (19), Caen (24), Reims (14), and Angers (27).

forty-one out of the nine hundred and more gild cahiers opposed the gilds.³⁴ There was a higher percentage of legal gilds opposing the gild regime than of professional or industrial gilds. A larger proportion of gilds in the medium-sized towns than in the larger towns denounced corporative organization, while few gilds in the small towns expressed open opposition.

Among the cahiers hostile to the gilds various motives for suppression were given. Some explained that the masterhood was too expensive and hence workers with talent were handicapped. The silk gild of Marseille affirmed that "the industrious artisan should no longer be condemned to die of hunger".³⁵ A number of cahiers indicated that gild organization led to lawsuits and hence should be abolished. The carpenters and bakers of Issoudun, who either influenced each other or used a common model, stated that the gilds stifled initiative. The stocking manufacturers of Rouen asked for suppression of the butchers' and bakers' gilds and any other gilds that "hinder competition and uphold scarcity".³⁶ Only a very few cahiers voiced economic liberalism in statements that gilds were "contrary to natural liberty and the welfare of commerce".³⁷

A number of cahiers opposing the gild regime would exempt from suppression a variety of gilds whose abolition might endanger public safety, such as those of doctors, surgeons, barbers, goldsmiths, or locksmiths.³⁸ A very few calling for suppression of gilds would substitute government licensing for gild certification.³⁹

³⁴ Opinion hostile to the gilds was expressed by 16 legal gilds, 7 professional, and 18 craft gilds. The list of these forty-one cahiers is as follows: Marseille, silk merchants. Rouen, wholesale merchants. Orléans, officers of the bureau of finance, lawyers, officers of the militia, surgeons, bonnet makers. Caen, pharmacists, cutlers (two cahiers counted as one opinion). Montpellier, café-keepers. Angers, municipal corps, money officers. Tours, cutlers. La Rochelle, chamber of commerce, money officers, doctors. Lunéville, linen merchants, locksmiths, carpenters, masons, eating-house keepers, bonnet makers, gardeners, architects. Issoudun, procurators, notaries, officers of the salt granary, wigmakers, bakers, carpenters. Rochefort, surgeons, goldsmiths, joiners, grocers. Beaune, lawyers, notaries, procurators. Noyon, lawyers, officers of water and forest jurisdiction. Compiègne, bakers. Provins, procurators.

³⁵ Marseille, p. 15.

³⁶ *E.g.*, cutlers, Tours, MS. See Issoudun, MS., art. 9 in both cahiers, and Rouen, MS. There were 3 gilds of Reims, 3 of Rouen, 2 of Le Havre, and 15 of La Rochelle that opposed the butchers and bakers but otherwise supported the gild regime.

³⁷ Procurators, Issoudun, MS., art. 14. The notaries expressed a similar idea.

³⁸ *E.g.*, lawyers, Orléans, p. 73, art. 2, or wholesale merchants, Rouen, MS.

³⁹ Few cahiers demanding suppression described the regime to replace gilds. Among the few suggesting government licensing were the pharmacists of Caen (MS.) and the municipal corps of Angers (pp. 109-10, art. 21).

A third category of gild cahiers remained silent upon the issue. Silence probably meant acquiescence in the existence of gilds or in the confused condition actually prevailing. In many towns gilds had not been re-established after their suppression by Turgot. In others some gilds had quietly organized under the same statutes as before suppression, while others adopted the new status.⁴⁰ The new law sought uniformity of gild organization for all towns where gilds were reconstituted, but every degree of organization actually existed. Silence was more common among gild cahiers of the smaller towns.

A fourth group of the gild cahiers included a minority whose opinion of the gild regime was ambiguous. Several of the cahiers proposed alternatives that were really contradictory—for example, suppression of the masterhood and re-establishment of privileges for widows and sons of masters. The bookbinders of Angers asked in one article for union with printers and booksellers and in another for suppression of the masterhood. The butchers of Lunéville combined the request for suppression of *lettres de maîtrise*, which usually meant maintenance of the gilds, with permission to establish their profession wherever the people as a whole would benefit.⁴¹

Did the town cahiers reflect accurately the preponderant gild opinion in the respective towns relative to the gild regime? Of the twenty-eight town cahiers which have been preserved for our thirty-one towns,⁴² only nine spoke for maintenance of the gilds, whereas the gilds of eighteen of these towns overwhelmingly defended gilds.⁴³ Furthermore, the town cahiers of La Rochelle, Alençon, Rochefort, Noyon, and Compiègne called for suppression, whereas in none of these towns did the majority of gilds oppose the existing regime.

Among the large towns gild opinion had been overwhelmingly in favor of gilds, whereas support of the gild regime in the town cahiers of

⁴⁰ According to the innkeepers of Troyes, they had been a free corps before 1777, whereas the new law had organized them into a regular gild (p. 139).

⁴¹ Angers, p. 174, arts. 14, 16, and Lunéville, MS.

⁴² The town cahiers of Issoudun, Hennebont, and Provins have been lost. References to town cahiers may be found in the official inventory, *Repertoire critique* . . . , cited on page 270. In general, it may be said that the texts of town cahiers are in the manuscript collections with the gild cahiers and have been published with them. The town cahiers of Caen, Lunéville, La Rochelle, and Rouen have been published, however, although the gild cahiers of those towns are still in manuscript. Attention is called to the fact that the town cahier of Bergerac (not cited in the inventory) is with the gild cahiers in the communal archives. It is not the text given by J. Charrier, *Jurades de la ville de Bergerac* (Bergerac, 1892-1904), Vol. XIII.

⁴³ See the composite table of opinion, note 20.

three of these towns, Orléans, Troyes, and Angers, was ambiguous or evasive.⁴⁴ Among middle-sized towns the town cahiers coincided even less closely with gild opinion. At La Rochelle, Alençon, and Rochefort the town cahiers, contrary to the majority of gilds, called for suppression. Among the small towns five reflected the same opinion as the majority of gilds; Bergues was for maintenance, and Bayeux, Chinon, St. Amand, and Quimperlé were silent. The other six ran contrary to the wish of the gilds, with two, those of Noyon and Compiègne, calling for suppression. It is obvious, then, that the town cahiers did not in all cases reflect the opinion of the majority of gilds of the respective towns, and that economic liberalism found more frequent expression in town than in gild cahiers. The chief reason for this is that the town assemblies were made up of delegates chosen by the gilds and by the unorganized inhabitants and that members of the legal profession and unorganized townsmen predominated.⁴⁵

One is not surprised to find, also, that opposition to the gild regime was greater in cahiers of the *bailliage* assemblies than in those of the gilds of the respective towns. General cahiers from the third estate of the *baillies* of Lunéville and Hennebont have been lost.⁴⁶ The general cahiers of the third estate in ten of the *baillies* where the gild towns were located defended the gilds, and in eleven they asked for

⁴⁴ The towns of Troyes and Angers would leave the issue of maintenance or suppression to the estates general itself. See texts, p. 286, art. 23, and p. ccxv, arts. 11-13, respectively. See also the town cahier of Orléans, p. 319, art. 135, and p. 323, art. 151.

⁴⁵ According to the royal order (see Brette), the legal, professional, and liberal arts gilds were authorized to choose two delegates for each one hundred members or less, the craft gilds one delegate for each hundred, and the unorganized inhabitants two for each hundred. This proportion favored the first group since their numbers were relatively small, but was balanced by the greater number of craft gilds. Many of the latter, however, designated a lawyer or prominent bourgeois as their representative. Thus town assemblies consisted predominantly of members of the legal and unorganized groups.

⁴⁶ References for texts of general cahiers may be found in my *French Nationalism in 1789*, pp. 312-28, *Repertoire critique*, and *Guide to the General Cahiers*. See the latter work, pp. 136, 385 ff., and 389 ff., on the texts for Rochefort and Rouen. The thirty-one towns were located in twenty-eight different *baillies*. All the large towns and ten of the lesser towns (Limoges, Bourges, La Rochelle, Lunéville, Alençon, Beauvais, Rochefort, Quimper, Provins, and Hennebont) were the place of assemblage for the *baillies* which produced general cahiers. Twelve of the towns were situated in secondary *baillies*. The general *baillies* to which they belonged are as follows: Le Havre (Caudebec-en-Caux), Issoudun (Bourges), Bergues (Bailleul), Beaune (Dijon), Bergerac (Périgord), Noyon (Vermandois), Bayeux (Caen), Compiègne (Senlis), Chinon (Tours), St. Amand (Moulins), St. Maixent (Poitiers), Quimperlé (Carhaix). With the loss of the general cahiers of Lunéville and Hennebont and with six of the towns grouped in three *baillies* (Issoudun-Bourges, Bayeux-Caen, Chinon-Tours), there are twenty-six general cahiers to compare with the twenty-nine town cahiers.

suppression.⁴⁷ Thus deputies from districts where guilds had approved the guild regime were carrying instructions to the estates general contrary to guild wishes and expressive of economic liberalism as regards the industrial regime.

The guild cahiers are interesting not only for their general attitude toward guild organization. The opinions they express relative to various other industrial problems are also of historical value. Unemployment is not an exclusively twentieth century issue. Comment relative to this problem came more often from building trades, in which occupation was seasonal then as it is now, than from other industries. The masons of Provins complained of four months of unemployment. The ship-builders of Le Havre complained of a shortage of contracts with consequent irregularity in the need for workers and protested against a ruling of the admiralty requiring assignment of workers to masters by rotation.⁴⁸ The merchants of Alençon claimed that masters had no work to give workers unable to pay for the masterhood. If workers tried to set up a shop, their materials were liable to confiscation. "The unfortunates are punished for working."⁴⁹ The remedy suggested by the merchants was a return to the old regime which had been suppressed by Turgot.

In their desire to solve unemployment the barbers of Lunéville suggested rewards for increase in employment. Several guilds asked that jobs be not given to bachelors.⁵⁰ Aid to the unemployed was contemplated by the carpenters of Limoges, who advocated the founding of a philanthropic society which would use its funds to provide work for unemployed at wages one third below the usual.⁵¹

The question of hours of employment was not discussed in the guild cahiers with the exception of a few from Bourges, and even they were not concerned about the length of the industrial day. At Bourges some guildsmen complained that vinedressers stopped work at 5 P.M., thereby wasting much of the daylight, and they asked that these workers be required to work from sunrise to sunset.⁵² This is a far cry from the forty-hour week!

The problem of apprenticeship had a bearing upon the supply of

⁴⁷ See the composite table of opinion, note 20.

⁴⁸ Provins, MS.; Le Havre, p. 61, arts. 3, 4, and p. 62, art. 8.

⁴⁹ Alençon, p. 48.

⁵⁰ Lunéville, MS., art. 31; masons, *ibid.* More guilds of Lunéville expressed this attitude than of other towns.

⁵¹ Limoges, p. 116, art. 30.

⁵² E.g., surgeons, Bourges, p. 647, art. 6.

labor. Numerous guilds in different towns asked for strict enforcement of apprenticeship training. Some asked for a three year or four year training, while the stovemakers of Orléans stipulated a four year period followed by two years of work with a master before certification by him.⁵³ The saddlers of Alençon asked for permission to take apprentices, while the ship carpenters of Le Havre asked that the number of apprentices each master would take be determined by the master.⁵⁴ The motive for this request was the desire for a balance between young apprentices and retiring workers and hence stabilization of employment. Tanners of Beauvais asked that workers (*compagnons*) be not allowed to leave masters without a specific warning and permission (*congé*).⁵⁵

Relatively few guilds mentioned wages. The few that did were chiefly in the building trades where public contracts affected production.⁵⁶ The textile manufacturers of Troyes asked that laws be passed forbidding the winning of workers away from another master by the promise of higher wages.⁵⁷ Most of the gildsmen were more concerned with the return on their own industry than a living wage for the labor they employed.

The guilds, consisting as they did of masters, would be expected to oppose associations of workers. Organizations of apprentices, journeymen, and laborers were forbidden by law, yet such groups existed.⁵⁸ Nowhere was the denunciation of such organizations as outspoken as in Montpellier, where many of the gildsmen complained that workers' associations led to disorder, bloody disputes, and danger to the town inhabitants.⁵⁹ According to the saddlers of Troyes, all workers not recognized by the guilds should be excluded from the town and suburbs, the reason given being that such workers paid no fees to the king for

⁵³ The cutlers of Troyes asked for three years, p. 161, art. 3; the mercers of Tours for four, MS., art. 8. See stovemakers, Orléans, p. 225, art. 6.

⁵⁴ Alençon, p. 81, art. 1, and Le Havre, p. 62, art. 7. See also citations from the latter, note 48.

⁵⁵ Beauvais, MS.

⁵⁶ E.g., carpenters, Bergues, p. 16, or sailmakers, Le Havre, p. 109, art. 5.

⁵⁷ Troyes, p. 84.

⁵⁸ On associations of workers, see Germain Martin, *Les associations ouvrières au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1900), also Martin Saint-Léon, pp. 557-68. That organizations of workers existed in 1789 despite legal prohibition is attested both by reference to them in gild cahiers and by the fact that sixteen such groups drew up cahiers (see above, note 2).

⁵⁹ E.g., architects, Montpellier, p. 641, art. 8. Nine guilds of Montpellier and seven of Marseille complained of workers' associations. Guilds of other towns rarely mentioned workers' associations.

the right to work.⁶⁰ Here and there distrust of workmen was expressed, but most of the gild cahiers ignored the existence and needs of those members of the third estate dependent upon them.⁶¹

One of the outstanding requests of gild cahiers was that consular jurisdiction be increased and consular courts established where none existed.⁶² It was the function of consuls to judge industrial disputes and to deal with bankruptcy. As has been indicated already, jurisdictional disputes between gilds were common before their suppression by Turgot, and the reforms instituted in 1777-78 had not eliminated this evil. Prevention and punishment of bankruptcy and protection of gild privileges against unorganized competitors were the chief motives for the request to increase the powers of consular judges. Greater powers would include an increase of territorial jurisdiction and of the value of cases handled, a greater variety of cases, and regulation of appeals.⁶³ Naturally, the corps of consular judges of the different towns defended their own powers and asked for extension,⁶⁴ but many of the professional and craft gilds also made this request.

Proposals of two cahiers envisaged fair adjustment of disputes between masters and employees. The farriers of Angers asked that controversies between proprietors and workers be settled by "a man of the craft", while the masons of Reims asked that a committee of experts be established in their gild to settle disputes between masters and between masters and workers.⁶⁵ Representation of employees on such boards was not yet conceived of, and indeed only these two cahiers evinced an interest in settlement of disputes other than by each master and his own workmen.

Many of the gild cahiers condemned peddling and manufacture and sale by those who were not masters. The grocers of Troyes claimed exclusive right of sale by virtue of the act reconstituting the gilds in

⁶⁰ Troyes, p. 176, art. 3.

⁶¹ See, for example, statements about dishonesty and trickery of workmen in the cahier of the masons, Reims, pp. 139-40, arts. 8, 9.

⁶² Approximately 150 gilds made this request. For a list of towns having consuls see *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Paris, 1782-1832), vol. 36, which is the first volume on commerce, pp. 721-22. Twenty-one of the thirty-one towns under consideration had consular judges. In general, the smaller towns where no consular courts existed were not interested in having them established.

⁶³ For a very complete treatment of the need for increased consular jurisdiction, see cahier of the mercers, Orléans, pp. 143-44, art. 43.

⁶⁴ E.g., consular judges, Reims, pp. 45-46. It is worthy of note that the town cahiers almost invariably asked for increased consular jurisdiction whether the gilds had done so or not.

⁶⁵ Angers, p. 160, art. 29; Reims, p. 140, art. 10.

1777 and complained that peddlers had the advantage in markets but paid no fees, whereas gildsmen paid for their privileges and yet derived no benefit. The masons of Reims asked that nonmasters be prohibited from employing workers and accompanied their demands with a gruesome picture of evils resulting from nongild construction—defective building, danger of collapse of houses, expense, and dishonesty.⁶⁶ Protest against the sale of goods by nongildsmen appeared more frequently in gild cahiers from the large and middle-sized towns; it was especially frequent among the gilds of Montpellier and Beaune.⁶⁷

An occasional condemnation of rural manufacture suggests that the domestic system was already developing in France. The introduction of machines for rural manufacture was opposed not in the name of gild monopoly but rather because of their effect upon employment and the standard of goods.⁶⁸ Numerous gild cahiers of Rouen, Caen, and Troyes condemned the importation of machinery from England, but this attitude appeared less widely and less frequently than might have been expected.⁶⁹

While defending their own privileges, the gilds almost universally denounced exclusive privileges detrimental to their own. The commercial privileges of such companies as the Company of the Indies were condemned, especially by the gilds of Marseille, whose trade with the Orient was adversely affected.⁷⁰ The gilds of a number of towns complained of the right of asylum exercised by "privileged places", which rendered the pursuit of debtors and bankrupts ineffective.⁷¹ The upholsterers of Orléans objected to the Aubusson and Feuilletin tapestry industry.⁷²

Various gild cahiers advocated encouragement to inventors as a general stimulus to industry. This should not take the form of privileges of exploitation, however, or if privileges were granted, they should be for a limited period only.⁷³ The tailors of Angers favored a system

⁶⁶ Troyes, pp. 88-89, art. 1; Reims, p. 138, art. 5.

⁶⁷ Nearly one hundred cahiers denounced peddling (*colportage*). Fourteen gilds of Montpellier and twelve of Beaune opposed sale by nongildsmen.

⁶⁸ E.g., weavers, Beaune, MS.

⁶⁹ E.g., bakers, locksmiths, and masons of Rouen, MS.; bonnetmakers of Caen, MS.; bonnetmakers and joiners of Troyes, p. 120, art. 17, p. 171, art. 15. Hostility to rural manufacture also appeared in southern France in the gild cahiers of Montpellier.

⁷⁰ Twenty-four out of forty-seven gilds of Marseille directly or indirectly condemned the Company of the Indies.

⁷¹ E.g., cooks, Rouen, MS.; and textile gild, Troyes, p. 84. The latter complained of privileges of manufacture.

⁷² Orléans, p. 229.

⁷³ E.g., grocers, Rouen, MS., art. 75.

of prizes for both agriculture and industry. The bonnetmakers of Lunéville would give rewards to masters for good quality, while the brokers of Rouen would offer prizes to the best workers and apprentices.⁷⁴

Aside from hostility to the use of machinery because of its effect upon employment and the quality of goods, guilds in a number of localities, notably Lorraine, complained of factories and forges because they were consuming the fuel supply of the townsmen and hence raising the cost of gild manufacture.⁷⁵ Demand for conservation of forests and reform in their administration was widespread, but none of the guilds voiced as constructive a plan as did the town cahier of Quimper, which asked that every proprietor of woodland be required to plant two trees for every one that he cut down.⁷⁶

Guilds of seacoast towns, as well as merchant guilds of interior towns, were concerned over French shipping. The major schemes for recovery of maritime power included subsidies to French shipbuilding, exclusion of non-French vessels from coastwise trade, and improvement of marine insurance.⁷⁷ The shipbuilders of Marseille favored navigation acts like those of England.⁷⁸ Improvement in seamanship would be effected by encouragement of fishing as a means of training seamen, reform of naval discipline and of the method of recruitment for the navy, provision for seamen's pensions, and appointment of French captains.⁷⁹

With respect to internal commerce, the guilds quite generally demanded the abolition of internal customs duties and obstacles to free circulation of goods, but they were protectionist as regards foreign trade.⁸⁰ The most common single item relative to trade in gild cahiers was the demand for prohibition of the export of grain with the object of lowering the cost of bread in the towns.⁸¹ Many guilds asked for free entry of raw materials, while individual guilds opposed competitive

⁷⁴ Tailors and eating-house keepers (*traiteurs*) both made this same request (Angers, p. 142, art. 4, and p. 139, art. 6). Lunéville, MS.; Rouen, MS. "Broker" is here given as the translation of *courtier*.

⁷⁵ E.g., shoemakers, Lunéville, MS.

⁷⁶ Quimper, p. 13, art. 51.

⁷⁷ E.g., shipbuilders, Marseille, p. 89 ff., art. 12; wholesale merchants, Rouen, MS.; wholesale merchants, Le Havre, p. 144, art. 15.

⁷⁸ Marseille, p. 92, art. 12.

⁷⁹ E.g., grocers, Rouen, MS., art. 59; ship captains of Le Havre, p. 40, art. 2, and p. 41, art. 3; silk manufacturers, Marseille, p. 19.

⁸⁰ The *traites foraines* were condemned, but less frequently by guilds of the smaller towns. The usual expression was to ask for removal of barriers to internal commerce.

⁸¹ Nearly one hundred cahiers made this demand, e.g., printers, Reims, p. 134.

import of articles needed for their particular craft.⁸² The wholesale merchants of Rouen asked for a general protective tariff and prohibition of the import of manufactured goods.⁸³ An appreciable number of gild cahiers condemned an export tariff.⁸⁴

The commercial treaty with England negotiated in 1786 met with outspoken condemnation.⁸⁵ The treaty had been a step toward reciprocity, involving concessions to French wines imported into England and to English machine-made goods imported into France. In no cahier was the treaty explicitly approved. Silence in the majority of gild cahiers did not necessarily mean approval; it probably indicated, rather, that those cahiers came from localities and industries that had not yet felt the impact of the treaty. Opposition was more frequent in large towns and in the gild towns of the north, where English goods had been introduced. Some gilds were so hostile to the treaty that they demanded that future commercial treaties should be negotiated only with the advice and approval of local chambers of commerce, representatives of the gilds, or of the towns.⁸⁶

One demand whose adoption would facilitate commerce, that is, the uniformity of weights and measures, was very widespread.⁸⁷ This was fulfilled when the metric system replaced the diverse provincial standards used under the old regime.

The foregoing were some of the outstanding problems dealt with by the gilds in their cahiers. Most of the demands, if carried out, would have strengthened the favored status of the gilds. Gildsmen under the old regime were privileged Frenchmen, as were the clergy and the nobles, and the gild cahiers defended their privileges and manifested their *esprit de corps*. Expressions of economic liberalism in the gild cahiers envisaged the removal of national and local regulations detrimental to gild industry and trade but not the substitution of individual

⁸² *E.g.*, weavers, Troyes, p. 85, art. 2. Dyers of Rouen complained of Swiss goods; bonnet makers of Lunéville, of the import of Swiss, English, and Frankfort bonnets; linen weavers and stocking knitters of Bayeux, of English goods. All these cahiers are in manuscript only.

⁸³ Rouen, MS.

⁸⁴ *E.g.*, see the annex to the cahier of the wholesale merchants, Le Havre, p. 143, art. 8.

⁸⁵ Approximately seventy cahiers denounced the treaty. *E.g.*, stocking manufacturers, Rouen, MS.

⁸⁶ *E.g.*, officers of the money jurisdiction, La Rochelle, MS. The playing-card makers of Caen asked that all commerce whatsoever with England be stopped (MS. text).

⁸⁷ Over one hundred and fifty cahiers made this demand. *E.g.*, wholesale merchants, Reims, p. 172, art. 9.

initiative for corporate organization. The majority of the guilds looked to government aid and support to maintain guild privileges but opposed government interference to curtail them.

Here and there a member of a guild—legal, professional, or craft—assumed leadership during the Revolution, but such leadership was a matter of personality and of individual activity, not of guild membership. The craft guilds had few spokesmen in the National Assembly, and when guild privileges came under debate, the partisans of economic liberalism triumphed.⁸⁸

The legal suppression of the guilds was enacted in a series of laws beginning on February 17, 1791.⁸⁹ The dissolution of the guilds and the emergence of a new industrial order were the result, however, of the general disorganization and transformation of France rather than of legal measures for suppression. Insofar as the demands of guildsmen with regard to general economic problems, taxation, provincial and local government coincided with those of other members of the third estate—the unorganized and the rural groups—these demands appeared in the general cahiers and were carried out during the Revolution.

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PATERNALISM AND THE PULLMAN STRIKE

THE rapid expansion of industrialism following the Civil War was accompanied by increasingly severe labor disturbances. Despite the enormous gains enjoyed by entrepreneurs the plight of labor during this era was not materially improved. During the sixties and seventies real wages actually declined. Wretchedly housed and subjected to a demoralizing environment, labor became increasingly suspicious and bitter toward capital. In desperation many toilers looked to unions as the only hope of escaping the terrors of poverty. Craft unions multiplied, and in the National Labor Union and subsequently the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor the workers attempted to present a united front. They were grimly determined to improve their living standards which too often bred despair, suffering, and tragedy. Opposed to labor were the capitalists, often unscrupulous in their business methods, who were just as uncompromising in their opposition to unionism. The stage was thus set for the industrial upheavals which shook the United States in the seventies and eighties.

Among the enterprises that played a dominant role in the business world during the latter half of the nineteenth century was the Pullman Palace Car Company. Capitalized in 1867 at ten million dollars,¹ it underwent rapid expansion and by 1893 possessed assets of sixty-two million dollars.² The company was so successful in revolutionizing the sleeping car industry and destroying competition that in 1894 its service extended over three fourths of the railroad mileage of the United States.³ The founder and head of this corporation was George Mortimer Pullman, who, although reared in poverty, developed into a masterful executive. Over the Pullman Company he exercised complete and arbitrary control. Shrewd, calculating, and conservative, he was primarily a hardheaded businessman. His disposition, which was

¹ *Private Laws of the State of Illinois* (2 vols., Springfield, 1867), II, pp. 337-38.

² "Fiscal Report of the Pullman Company for the Year ending July 31, 1893", *Pullman Journal*, Oct. 21, 1893, p. 4.

³ George M. Pullman, *The Strike at Pullman* (Chicago, 1894), p. 36, a pamphlet containing the statements of George Pullman and Second Vice-President T. H. Wickes before the United States Strike Commission, 1894.

not genial, made for personal unpopularity. He refused to brook opposition and was especially bitter toward labor unions.⁴

The rapid growth of the corporation necessitated in 1880 a substantial enlargement of production facilities. In addition to constructing and operating sleeping, parlor, and dining cars, the organization decided to build all types of railroad cars for the general market. To meet the varied needs of the company, it was decided to construct new and elaborate works near Chicago.⁵ The site chosen was in a sparsely settled region, and in order to house the thousands of workers a town had to be built. Rather than permit haphazard construction, Pullman decided upon a planned community with beautiful houses and lovely streets, parks, and public buildings. His motive was not entirely philanthropic. He looked upon the venture as a business proposition which would yield dividends of 6 per cent and would create a contented and industrious force of skilled laborers. Desirous of avoiding labor difficulties, Pullman believed that paternalism wisely administered would lull the restless yearnings of the laborer and give to his powerful corporation a stability in labor conditions not hitherto known.⁶ The Pullman Experiment was thus launched as a new departure in the approach to the problem of industrial strife.

On the open prairie, twelve miles south of the business district of

⁴ Obituaries of Pullman, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Record*, *Inter Ocean*, Oct. 20, 1897; John McLean, *One Hundred Years in Illinois* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 226-27, 253-54; William Carwardine, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago, 1894), p. 47. Carwardine, who was pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Pullman prior to and during the strike of 1894, championed vigorously the cause of the workers. In his book he sheds considerable light on the causes and character of this great labor upheaval.

⁵ *United States Strike Commission Report, Senate Executive Document*, No. 7, 53 Cong., 3 sess. (Washington, 1895), p. 529. President Grover Cleveland on July 26, 1894, appointed a commission of three members, Carroll D. Wright (chairman), John D. Kerman, and Nicholas E. Worthington, to conduct an investigation of the Pullman strike. On November 14, 1894, the commission submitted to the President its report including testimony, proceedings, and recommendations. This report, the most valuable source available for a study of the strike, is, generally speaking, very fair and impartial. Prior to the construction of the Pullman works, shops existed at Elmira, Detroit, St. Louis, and Wilmington. Joseph Husband, *The Story of the Pullman Car* (Chicago, 1917), p. 89.

⁶ Pullman, pp. 1-2; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 529-30; Carroll D. Wright and others, "An Attractive Industrial Experiment", *Massachusetts Labor Report* (Boston, 1885), pt. 1, p. 18; *Report of the Commissioners of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics; The Story of Pullman*, pp. 22-23, a pamphlet distributed at the Pullman exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.

Chicago, the Pullman Company purchased four thousand acres of land. Less than five hundred acres, however, were required for the model town, which, completely isolated by a broad belt of uninhabited Pullman property, was laid out on the western shore of Lake Calumet. Under the direction of Solon S. Beman, chief architect, and Nathan Barrett, landscape engineer, the town of Pullman was planned along aesthetic lines.⁷ Ground was broken in 1880, and during the ensuing four years construction was pushed rapidly. Simultaneously with the erection of shops, the company established gas, water, and sewer facilities and constructed streets, homes, and public buildings. Economizing wherever possible, it not only established its own carpenter shops but also manufactured from the rich clay deposits underlying Lake Calumet a supply of cream-colored bricks. All buildings save the Green Stone Church and some frame houses at the southern limits of the town were constructed of brick with stone trimmings and slate roofs. The architecture, which tended to be monotonous, was relieved by the beauty of shrubbery and trees. The town was planned so that its most attractive view was visible from the Illinois Central tracks.⁸ In 1894 there were eighteen hundred tenements, varying in size from two room flats to luxurious three story houses.⁹ Among the public buildings were the Florence Hotel, the Pullman School, the livery stables, the Casino, the Arcade, which housed the library, theater, and all offices and stores, the market building, which accommodated the meat and vegetable markets, and the Green Stone Church, which, constructed from green serpentine rock, was singularly impressive.¹⁰ The parks of Pullman contributed much to the beauty and physical well-being of the town. Lake Vista and Arcade Park were noted for their picturesqueness; the Playground and Athletic Island were uti-

⁷ McLean, pp. 224-25; A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1884), pp. 516, 521, 611; Irving K. Pond, "America's First Planned Industrial Town", *Illinois Society of Architects' Monthly Bulletin*, June-July, 1934, pp. 6-8. Pond assisted Beman as a draftsman.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7; "Report to the State of Illinois on the Status of the Town of Pullman", 1885, pp. 1, 13, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library, Chicago; *Pullman Journal*, Jan. 7, 1893, p. 4; Andreas, pp. 611-12; Richard T. Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study", *Harper's Monthly*, LXX (1885), p. 458.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 458, 461; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. 507.

¹⁰ Mrs. Duane Doty, *The Town of Pullman* (Pullman, 1893), pp. 8-10, 48-49; Duane Doty, "The Market of Pullman", 1883, pp. 1-3, Pullman Collection, John Crerar Library, Chicago. No person was more devoted to the Pullman Experiment than Duane Doty, who filled various important offices in the model town from 1880 until his death in 1902 (see below p. 276).

lized for sports.¹¹ The beauty of the town profoundly impressed many visitors.¹²

In almost every detail the town was modern. The homes were equipped with commodious basements, were furnished with gas, water, and excellent sewage facilities, and were supplied with an abundance of fresh air and sunlight. Gas manufactured by the company was used in lighting the streets as well as for household purposes. The streets and alleys were macadamized and the sidewalks made from planks and gravel. The front lawns were heavily sodded and frequently terraced. Thousands of shade trees and shrubs adorned the streets and parks, a constant supply being furnished by the company-owned nursery and greenhouses.¹³ Steam heat was furnished to the public buildings and better homes. The company established, among other things, a lumber yard, ice houses, and a dairy farm with nearly one hundred cows, which supplied the inhabitants of Pullman with milk, butter, and cream.¹⁴ The most unique of all Pullman institutions was the company-operated sewage truck farm, which disposed of all sewage by land purification. The crops raised on this highly fertilized soil supplied Pullman and some Chicago markets with vegetables, the profits yielding as much as 8 per cent on the investment.¹⁵ Such institutions as a hospital, cemetery, jail, orphanage, and infirmary were absent from the experiment, due largely to their availability in the village of Hyde Park.¹⁶

Since the model town was in reality an adjunct to the Pullman works, the size of the population fluctuated with employment conditions. From the inauguration of the experiment until 1893 the Pull-

¹¹ Mrs. Doty, pp. 109-10; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 7, 1889, p. 5. This paper was published in Pullman from 1889 to 1892 and was a semi-official organ of the company. In 1892 it was renamed the *Pullman Journal*. Perhaps the most unique feature in the model town was the five-acre Athletic Island, which was located in Lake Calumet and was made accessible to the mainland by means of a bridge. Constructed on this island were boat houses, a large grandstand, and a small race course.

¹² *Inter Ocean*, Jan. 17, 1885, p. 12; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 5, 1891, p. 5.

¹³ Andreas, p. 620; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 14, 1882, p. 6; "Report to the State of Illinois", pp. 10-11, 13-14; *Arcade Journal*, June 14, 1890, p. 1.

¹⁴ Mrs. Doty, pp. 162-63; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 455; *Arcade Journal*, Oct. 11, 1890, p. 1.

¹⁵ Oscar C. DeWolf, *Pullman from a State Medicine Point of View*, p. 12, reprinted from the *American Public Health Association Proceedings* (Concord, 1884), IX, 290ff.; Mrs. Doty, pp. 165-67; *Chicago Times*, Aug. 6, 1882, p. 6, and Apr. 25, 1885, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Municipal Code of the Village of Hyde Park together with General Laws* (Hyde Park, 1887), pp. 72-73, 94, 149.

man shops enjoyed, with few interruptions, a remarkable expansion in production. The high peak for the town was reached shortly before the panic of 1893, when the population reached twelve and one-half thousand. Due to the ensuing depression the number by 1895 had fallen to eight thousand.¹⁷ Although unbounded prosperity eventually returned to the shops,¹⁸ the town of Pullman, for reasons to be treated subsequently, never recovered its buoyancy. The largest percentage of inhabitants was foreign born, the most important nationalities being Scandinavian, British, German, Dutch, and Irish.¹⁹ There is, however, no evidence that the history of the experiment would have been materially different with a population exclusively American born.

George Pullman, having faith in arbitrary control, managed the town with rigid paternalism. Although a part of the village of Hyde Park, the town in most matters was subject to the authority of the Pullman corporation. By resorting from the outset to domination over municipal functions, such as maintenance of streets, parks, fire department, sewerage, and sanitary inspection, and by virtue of its wealth, influence, and ownership of the entire town, the company, through George Pullman, conducted the experiment without interference. All of the town officials were appointed by the corporation except the members of the school board, who, although elective, were still in the employ of the company and hence subject to the influence of George Pullman.²⁰ The chief administrator was the town agent, who co-ordinated the work of eleven municipal departments and operated the town in a commercial manner. During the period covered by the experiment, 1880 to 1907, there were six town agents, the most distinguished being Duane Doty, who served twice in this capacity (1880-1883, 1901-1902) and also as civil engineer, statistician, and editor of the *Pullman Journal* (1883-1901).²¹

¹⁷ "Annual Report of the Pullman Company to the Stockholders, Oct. 11, 1888", *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 12, 1888, p. 2; "Fiscal Report of the Pullman Company for the Year ending July 31, 1893", *Pullman Journal*, Oct. 21, 1893, p. 4, and Feb. 1, 1896, p. 12.

¹⁸ "Annual Report of the Pullman Company, Oct. 1903", *Calumet Record*, Oct. 22, 1903, p. 1. This newspaper, published weekly in South Chicago, was in certain respects the successor of the *Pullman Journal*, which ceased publication in 1898.

¹⁹ Wright, p. 9; Joseph Kirkland, *Story of Chicago* (Chicago, 1892), p. 395; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 25, 1893, p. 4.

²⁰ "Report to the State of Illinois", p. 24; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 461-64; *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1885, p. 8; *Chicago Evening Journal*, July 10, 1885, p. 3; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 28, 1889, p. 5; McLean, pp. 239-43.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54; Andreas, pp. 625-26; *Calumet Record*, Mar. 8, 1901, p. 5; "Town of Pullman Pay Rolls, March 15, 1886, to March 31, 1887", pp. 1-19, Pullman Company records.

Virtually the only enterprises not operated by the corporation were retail stores. Among the institutions in which the company took special pride was the fire department, which developed such efficiency that the village of Hyde Park in 1886 decided to pay the maintenance cost in return for the extension of the service to surrounding communities.²² The library was incorporated and managed by a board of directors controlled by George Pullman, who was himself a member.²³ The hotel, theater, and bank were operated by the corporation as business enterprises. In charge of the Florence Hotel was a superintendent, and in control of the Arcade Theater was a business manager. The theater was beautifully decorated, and the plays were of excellent quality, but the admission prices were usually too high for ordinary laborers.²⁴ The Pullman Loan and Savings Bank, whose president was George Pullman, encouraged thrift, served the company commercially, and paid dividends of 6 per cent.²⁵ Vegetables and dairy products were produced by the company for the Pullman market, but peddlers who held Hyde Park licenses could not be prohibited from selling such commodities in the town. They were, however, denied such conveniences as sheds and stands.²⁶ It can be reasonably concluded that rigid paternalism was the more completely realized by virtue of so many enterprises, business and otherwise, being managed by the corporation.

In maintaining absolute control over the town and protecting the interests of his company, George Pullman deemed it necessary to wield considerable influence in the village of Hyde Park, to which the model town belonged politically. Participating actively in the election of Hyde Park officials, he was able to maintain on the board of trustees and the board of review a majority sympathetic toward his policies.²⁷ Pullman tax assessments and water rates were reduced to the lowest possible level, and the extraordinary municipal prerogatives of the cor-

²² *Annual Report of the Village of Hyde Park* (Chicago, 1887), p. 18; *Inter Ocean*, Apr. 13, 1886, p. 7; *Chicago Evening Journal*, May 4, 1886, p. 5.

²³ "Charter of Incorporation for the Pullman Public Library, Oct. 14, 1882", and "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Pullman Library Directors, Apr. 10, 1883", pp. 1-4, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library.

²⁴ McLean, p. 243; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 458; *Pullman Journal*, Aug. 10, 1893, p. 9.

²⁵ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 508-509, 514; *Pullman Journal*, Oct. 16, 1885, p. 3.

²⁶ "Report to the State of Illinois", p. 19.

²⁷ Andreas, pp. 516, 627; *Chicago Times*, Mar. 13, 1883, p. 8, and May 10, 1885, p. 19; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 10, 1885, p. 8, and Apr. 4, 1888, p. 2.

poration were never seriously challenged.²⁸ The relationship between Hyde Park and the model town was so satisfactory to George Pullman that despite the obsolete and inadequate features of the village government he frowned on all proposed changes.²⁹ In 1889, however, the annexation of Hyde Park to Chicago became an issue which George Pullman fought vigorously on the ground that it would endanger the success of the experiment. Tremendous pressure was applied, but notwithstanding, the proposition carried, and Hyde Park was absorbed by Chicago.³⁰ In actual effect the course of the experiment was not essentially changed, although taxes, schools, wholesale water rates, and the fire department were henceforth subject to the control of the city of Chicago.³¹

Political coercion was frequently employed by the Pullman Company. The employees were expected to vote for the party or candidates most satisfactory to George Pullman. Although threats and intimidation were frequently used, there is no evidence that very many employees were discharged for voting contrary to his wishes. Political opposition was keenly resented and suppressed whenever possible.³² John P. Hopkins, paymaster of the shops, led a revolt against the political domination of the corporation and as a result was discharged and compelled to leave the town.³³ The overwhelming vote of the town against annexation to Chicago in 1889 revealed the extent to which Pullman was able to control the ballot.³⁴ In national elections, however, the Democrats occasionally carried the town in spite of Pullman's

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Village of Hyde Park* (Hyde Park, 1886), p. 90; *ibid.*, 1888, pp. 23-24; *Chicago Times*, Aug. 19, 1882, p. 8, and July 12, 1885, p. 17.

²⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 16, 1881, p. 8; *Chicago Herald*, June 30, 1889, p. 10; *Chicago Times*, Oct. 29, 1887, p. 10.

³⁰ *Chicago Herald*, May 14, 1889, p. 2, and June 30, 1889, pp. 9, 10; *Chicago Tribune*, June 15, 1889, p. 7; *Inter Ocean*, June 30, 1889, p. 15.

³¹ *Arcade Journal*, Aug. 30, 1890, p. 1; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 1, 1896, p. 12; Carwardine, p. 99.

³² *Chicago Times*, May 1, 1890, p. 1, and May 7, 1890, p. 2; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 6, 1887, p. 1, and May 3, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Herald*, Apr. 10, 1887, p. 4, Mar. 31, 1889, p. 11, May 14, 1889, p. 3, and June 30, 1889, p. 10; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. 430; Carwardine, p. 109.

³³ William Stead, *If Christ came to Chicago* (Chicago, 1894), pp. 294-95; Graham Taylor, *Satellite Cities* (New York, 1915), p. 62; *Chicago Times*, Nov. 7, 1888, p. 1, and Apr. 4, 1889, p. 4. This rift between George Pullman and John Hopkins helps to explain why Hopkins, as mayor of Chicago during the great strike of 1894, entertained little sympathy for the Pullman Corporation. The Second-Hopkins firm gave generously to the support of the strikers. Carwardine, pp. 41-44.

³⁴ *Inter Ocean*, June 30, 1889, p. 15.

efforts in behalf of the Republican Party.³⁵ The absence of genuine democracy was perhaps the most characteristic defect of the Pullman Experiment.

It is difficult to appraise fully and accurately the means by which George Pullman attempted to dominate the inhabitants. Influencing voters and resisting unionization were among the more obvious methods. During the Pullman Strike of 1894, according to one authority, a system of espionage was employed to keep check on the inhabitants.³⁶ A very subtle influence was the *Pullman Journal*, a semi-official organ of the corporation, published weekly. Ably edited, it gave unfailing support to all the policies of George Pullman.³⁷ Radical speakers were successfully excluded from the town by being denied the right to use public halls. The greatest caution was taken in granting applications to use the theater for lectures, and a close censorship was maintained over the type of plays produced.³⁸ In order to assure the immediate elimination of undesirables, it was provided that the lease which every tenant was compelled to sign could be voided within ten days by either party. Although such arbitrary expulsion was seldom employed, the potential effectiveness of the weapon served as a powerful threat to deter the inhabitants from criticizing or opposing the policies of the company.³⁹

It was the fixed policy of George Pullman to oppose the sale of any part of the town so as not to disturb unified control over the experiment or permit the entrance of baleful influences. In order to sell sites it would have been necessary to subdivide the acre property, a move which would have led to heavier taxes.⁴⁰ The rapidly increasing land values⁴¹ doubtless fortified the corporation in its determination that no property should be thrown on the market. Without complete ownership, effective domination would indeed have been imperiled, but, on the other hand, the refusal to permit home ownership became the basis for deep dissatisfaction. There is no evidence that

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1888, p. 7; Thomas B. Grant, "Pullman and Its Lessons", *American Journal of Politics*, V (1894), 194.

³⁶ Carwardine, p. 51.

³⁷ See notes 11 and 18.

³⁸ Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 458; *Chicago Herald*, Apr. 2, 1886, p. 4; anonymous, "The Arcadian City of Pullman", *Agricultural Review*, Jan., 1883, p. 72.

³⁹ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 532-34; Graham R. Taylor, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers* (Chicago, 1930), p. 115; *Chicago Times*, 1885, Sept. 30, p. 6, Oct. 3, p. 6, Oct. 7, p. 8.

⁴⁰ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 503-505, 529-30, 542.

⁴¹ *Pullman Journal*, Jan. 7, 1893, p. 3.

local attachment and civic pride were ever engendered among the citizens, and, according to the United States Strike Commission of 1894, the absence of home ownership embittered relations during the great strike.⁴² Although the company did nothing to discourage home ownership in nearby towns, it discriminated against non-Pullman renters when work was scarce. During the prosperous era prior to the panic of 1893 one sixth of the workers were home owners, but the company then experienced little trouble in renting its homes. During the depression, however, decided preference was shown to Pullman renters in the matter of employment.⁴³ Whereas in 1893 one half of the employees were residents of Pullman, in April, 1894, the number had increased to more than two thirds.⁴⁴

The basis of the Pullman Experiment was commercial. Substantial profits were realized from the sale of utilities. Gas was sold for \$2.25 per thousand cubic feet as compared with the charge in Chicago of only \$1.25.⁴⁵ The actual cost of manufacturing this amount in Pullman was variously estimated at thirty-three and at sixty-three and one fourth cents.⁴⁶ Although denied by the corporation, it was estimated that water which cost the company four cents per thousand gallons was retailed to the inhabitants for ten cents.⁴⁷ The library, equipped with over eight thousand volumes and luxuriously furnished, was accessible only to those who were willing to pay the annual membership fee of three dollars.⁴⁸ Although George Pullman explained that the charge was "not for profit" but to give subscribers "a sense of ownership", at no time did the membership exceed two hundred and fifty.⁴⁹

⁴² *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1888, p. 9; *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 17, 1883, p. 2; U. S. Strike Commission Report, pp. xxii-xxiii, 504.

⁴³ Pullman, p. 21; U. S. Strike Commission Report, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, 499; Carwardine, pp. 96-97.

⁴⁴ U. S. Strike Commission Report, p. 499; Pullman, p. 21.

⁴⁵ "Report to the State of Illinois", p. 15; *Inter Ocean*, Dec. 17, 1881, p. 3; Carwardine, p. 98.

⁴⁶ William T. Stead, "How Pullman was Built", *Socialist Economist*, VII (1894), 86; *Chicago Herald*, Mar. 31, 1889, p. 11.

⁴⁷ *Annual Report of the Village of Hyde Park*, 1886, p. 90; Stead, p. 86; Carwardine, p. 98. Since there were no meters in the homes, it was difficult to compute the actual rate charged. Each tenant was assessed monthly seventy-one cents, regardless of the amount of water consumed. Until 1894 the only water meters in the town were those registering the amount of water entering Pullman from Hyde Park. Pullman, p. 22.

⁴⁸ Bertha S. Ludlam, "History of the Pullman Library", p. 2, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library; *Pullman Journal*, Aug. 10, 1895, p. 4.

⁴⁹ Pullman, p. 23; U. S. Strike Commission Report, pp. xxi-xxii.

The company was determined that the entire cost of the town, exclusive of the shops, should be borne by the inhabitants, and, hence, included in the basis for computing rent were such matters as street, park, and sewer expenses. Dividends of no less than 6 per cent were demanded from the experiment, but the actual profits fell short of expectations. From the shabby frame cottages at the brickyards, however, the rent yielded 40 per cent on the investment.⁵⁰ The level of rent was extraordinarily high, averaging from 20 to 25 per cent more than rent in Chicago or surrounding communities for similar accommodations, excluding, however, sanitary and aesthetic features.⁵¹ Utilizing every means for prompt collection, the company at first deducted rent from wages but later was compelled by law to pay wages in full.⁵² Each employee was then given two checks, one of which covered the exact amount of the rent. The tenant was expected to sign this over immediately to the Pullman Bank, the collecting agent of the Pullman Company. Threats of eviction and dismissal were used against delinquent renters.⁵³

Paternalism was most evident in the policy governing renting. Through the lease and by numerous regulations the renter was left little freedom of action. All pernicious influences, such as saloons and brothels, were strictly forbidden, although a small bar, designed only for guests and charging exorbitant prices, was permitted at the Florence Hotel. No control, however, was exercised over the saloons in nearby communities, and from them the Pullman inhabitants purchased their liquor. The amount of drunkenness was never large.⁵⁴ The lease prohibited even the slightest alteration of any premises without written permission and obliged the tenant to pay for all repairs whether caused from carelessness or not—a clause which was never enforced.⁵⁵ Supplementary to the lease were numerous rules which all tenants were compelled to respect. Pigs and chickens were strictly prohibited because of their offensive odor, and the ownership of horses was permissible only by keeping them in the livery stables. Calcimin-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxv, 495-501, 522-30; *Chicago Times*, May 23, 1882, p. 6.

⁵¹ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxv, 462, 467-68, 492-93.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 515, 533; "Pay Rolls of the Pullman Company, 1-B, Oct. 1882 to Jan. 1883", p. 40, Pullman Company records; *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois* (Chicago, 1898), pp. 1530^a to 1530^b.

⁵³ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxvi, 515-17, 520-22.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 431, 463; Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, p. 51; "Report to the State of Illinois", pp. 24-25.

⁵⁵ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 531-33, 635-37.

ing, painting, and mechanical work were forbidden without official consent. Among other rules were those prescribing minutely such matters as the care to be given lamps and stoves, and how tenants in general should conduct themselves.⁵⁶ From the enforced orderliness and cleanliness, the tenants derived benefits, but the restrictions represented an irritating infringement upon their personal rights. There was little to foster the spirit of self-reliance or develop the initiative of the renter. Among the services rendered by the company were the following: keeping the front lawns mowed, sprinkled, and free of refuse; removing daily all rubbish, ashes, and garbage; and maintaining the homes in an excellent state of repair. Meat and vegetable markets were daily inspected and all tenants urged to present a tidy appearance.⁵⁷

Virtually no provision was made to secure the inhabitants against the hazards of life. In the framework of the experiment there was no place for paupers, orphans, and the unemployed. The town was designed only for industrious, self-sustaining people. When an individual lost his job and could no longer pay rent, he was expected to depart.⁵⁸ The creation of relief organizations was not encouraged by Pullman officials, with the result that during the depression of 1893 the nonexistence of a public charity system was keenly felt. Although medical aid was furnished to injured employees, it became the fixed policy of the company in 1886 not to pay them any wages while disabled.⁵⁹ Against the possibility of damage suits the corporation took the greatest precaution.⁶⁰ In refusing to give employees any security against the misfortunes of life, the Pullman Company was no different from any other corporation of this period.

The town was supplied with an adequate program designed to meet all recreational and social needs. The Arcade Theater during the winter months averaged one play per week in addition to occasional concerts and other specialties.⁶¹ No organization was more successful than the Pullman Band which won the Illinois State Championship

⁵⁶ *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 7, 1886, p. 2; "Report to the State of Illinois", pp. 16-19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 27, 38; "Town of Pullman Pay Rolls, March 15, 1886, to March 31, 1887", pp. 3-10, Pullman Company records; *Calumet Record*, June 13, 1901, p. 2; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 462.

⁵⁸ *Pullman Journal*, July 21, 1894, p. 8.

⁵⁹ Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 465; John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899), p. 424; Carwardine, pp. 41-44; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 483-84, 488, 639-40.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xxii, 487, 591; Carwardine, p. 112.

⁶¹ McLean, p. 243; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 17, 1889, p. 4; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 9, 1895, p. 8.

in 1890 and subsequently toured the South. Its weekly concerts in the Arcade Park were widely appreciated.⁶² Few social organizations enjoyed more prestige than the Men's Society of Pullman, which endeavored to promote the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the community.⁶³ In the field of athletics the model town stood out pre-eminently. The Pullman Athletic Association promoted numerous sports and sponsored such major events as the annual spring games, professional regattas, and the annual road race, in which as many as four hundred cyclists participated before crowds numbering as high as fifteen thousand people.⁶⁴ George Pullman doubtless believed that the contentment of laborers depended in large measure upon the profitable utilization of their leisure hours.

The town of Pullman possessed numerous church organizations, but the religious situation was not always satisfactory. George Pullman, desirous of having the various religious denominations merge and form one large community church, built only one church edifice, the Green Stone Church.⁶⁵ The people, contrary to plans, organized their own churches and, prohibited from purchasing sites in Pullman, were obliged to rent undesirable quarters in the Arcade, the Casino, and the Market Building.⁶⁶ The Presbyterians alone were able to rent the Green Stone Church, but not until it had remained idle for several years and the annual rent had been reduced from \$3600 to \$1200. The parsonage, renting monthly for \$65, was never occupied by a minister, the rental being deemed too burdensome.⁶⁷ The religious groups became increasingly dissatisfied, objecting particularly to high rentals and the commercial treatment to which they were subjected.⁶⁸ Between John Waldron, a popular Catholic priest, and George Pullman there developed a bitter, personal feud which culminated finally in the resignation of Waldron from his pastorate. In his last sermon he denounced

⁶² *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 28, 1889, p. 5, and Oct. 10, 1891, p. 1; *Pullman Journal*, Nov. 23, 1895, p. 5.

⁶³ "Articles of Association and By-Laws of the Men's Society of Pullman, Dec. 16, 1895", pp. 1-15, Pullman Branch Library; *Pullman Journal*, Nov. 9, 1895, p. 4.

⁶⁴ *Chicago Times*, Jan. 30, 1883, p. 6; Mrs. Doty, pp. 109-110; *Arcade Journal*, May 10, 1890, p. 4; *Pullman Journal*, May 6, 1893, p. 9.

⁶⁵ Carwardine, p. 20; John Waldron, "History of the Parish of the Holy Rosary Church", 1883, p. 1, archives of the church, Roseland, Chicago.

⁶⁶ *Pullman Journal*, Dec. 28, 1895, p. 4; Mrs. Doty, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁷ *Chicago Herald*, Jan. 13, 1886, p. 2; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 464; Carwardine, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22; *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 4, 1885, p. 2, and Jan. 13, 1886, p. 2; *Pullman Journal*, Dec. 28, 1895, p. 9; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. 451.

his enemy in sharp, caustic language, characterizing him as a "capitalistic czar; a man who ruled, crushed and oppressed by the force of money".⁶⁹ The Catholics and Swedish Lutherans were finally permitted to secure some Pullman property for the erection of their own churches, but outside of the town.⁷⁰

During its heyday the model town was inspected by thousands of distinguished visitors. By fostering and conducting tours of the town, George Pullman revealed his profound pride in the venture.⁷¹ Although the experiment was studied by many manufacturers, engineers, and economists, it was imitated only vaguely and never became a genuine pattern for any industrial community.⁷² The Pullman Strike was largely instrumental in destroying whatever revolutionary effect the experiment was believed to have upon industrialism.

The inherent weaknesses in the paternalistic venture were evident to few people prior to the strike of 1894. The terrible force of this upheaval revealed that underneath the apparent calm and contentment of the citizenry there existed basic grievances. Among these, which have already been treated, were political domination and the absence of democracy, rigid paternalistic control over the tenants, exorbitant rentals, excessive gas and water rates, and the refusal to permit home ownership among the inhabitants. Equally important was the despotic policy of George Pullman toward labor. Numerous alleged grievances developed, including blacklisting, nepotism, favoritism, arbitrary dismissal, and tyranny on the part of foremen.⁷³ Regardless of Pullman's apparent interest in his workers, he shared with other industrialists the conviction that labor was only one of several commodities and that the wage scale should be rigorously governed by the condition of the labor market. A slump in business was invariably reflected in a wage

⁶⁹ *Chicago Daily News*, Feb. 11, 1887, p. 1; *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 12, 1887, p. 8.

⁷⁰ *Pullman Journal*, Nov. 5, 1892, p. 4, and May 20, 1893, p. 8; *Chicago Herald*, Aug. 10, 1886, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Inter Ocean*, Nov. 2, 1881, p. 6, and July 11, 1887, p. 16; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 1, 1895, p. 14; "Visitors' Register for the Town of Pullman", Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library.

⁷² *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 5, 1891, p. 5; *Pullman Journal*, 1893, Nov. 2, 1895, p. 8, and Jan. 18, 1896, p. 8; *Calumet Record*, Jan. 25, 1906, p. 1; Budgett Meakin, *Model Factories and Villages: Ideal Conditions of Labor and Housing* (London, 1905), pp. 382-85; Graham R. Taylor, "Creating the New Steel City", *The Survey*, XX (1909), 22-36.

⁷³ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York, 1917), p. 218; *Chicago Herald*, Jan. 9, 1888, p. 8; *Chicago Times*, Jan. 21, 1888, p. 2; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxvi, 441, 453, 481.

slash, irrespective of company earnings.⁷⁴ Against labor unions Pullman fought uncompromisingly, and prior to 1894 unionism was of slight importance in the model town. From the very outset of the experiment there were labor difficulties, but in every strike, great or small, the Pullman corporation emerged victorious.⁷⁵

Few matters rankled in the minds of the inhabitants as much as the question of rentals. Extraordinarily high in comparison with the level elsewhere, the rents of Pullman imposed a severe burden upon the inhabitants during the panic of 1893. The company as paymaster slashed wages drastically while as landlord it declined to tamper in any way with the rentals. Refusing to recognize that the same conditions which depressed wages should also reduce rents, George Pullman boldly contended that the two were in no wise related. The claim that any laborer who was dissatisfied with the rent policy could live elsewhere was contrary to all evidence. Pressure was applied on non-Pullman renters, forcing many of them to become Pullman tenants. In spite of all the company could do, the arrearage in rent mounted rapidly, reaching seventy thousand dollars at the time of the strike. Under the drastic wage slashes and irregular working conditions of 1894 the wages of many laborers were so small that every cent was needed for the purchase of food and clothing.⁷⁶ The Pullman Bank was inclined to ignore this situation, using every means to induce the renter to pay the maximum amount.⁷⁷ In the face of such widespread rent delinquency, the company could not very expediently resort to eviction; nor was it necessary as numerous unemployed tenants soon made their exit from the town.⁷⁸

The principal cause of the strike of 1894 was a radical reduction of wages fostered by a depression in business conditions. During the year ending on July 31, 1893, the corporation enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity, earning profits of over six million dollars and employing in the Pullman shops 5500 men.⁷⁹ Unexpectedly, in the fall of 1893,

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii; *Chicago Times*, Sept. 30, 1885, p. 6; *Chicago Evening Journal*, Mar. 6, 1884, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Kirkland, pp. 398-400; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1882, p. 8; *Chicago Times*, Mar. 6, 1884, p. 8, Oct. 7, 1885, p. 8, May 18, 1886, p. 8; *Chicago Herald*, Jan. 9, 1888, p. 8.

⁷⁶ Pullman, p. 28; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. xxxv, xxxvi, 426, 462-63, 516, 611; Carwardine, p. 69.

⁷⁷ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 515-17, 520-22.

⁷⁸ *Pullman Journal*, 1894, July 21, p. 8, Oct. 20, p. 4.

⁷⁹ "Annual Report of the Pullman Company", *ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1893, p. 4.

business slumped tremendously. Retrenchment was ordered in every department, and hundreds of men were dismissed. The car manufacturing division sustained losses, but not the more important operating division, which continued to yield large revenue. Convinced that the profits of the latter should not be used to cushion the losses of the former, Pullman compelled labor in both divisions to shoulder a relatively large percentage of the losses. The share which labor was forced to bear, during the seven and one half months prior to the strike, was over sixty thousand dollars as compared with the fifty-two thousand dollar loss borne by the corporation in the manufacturing division during the same period. According to the United States Strike Commission, a fairer distribution of the losses would have been one fourth for labor and the remainder for the company. The wage reduction, which in some cases reached 35 per cent, averaged 25 per cent. Reduced hours decreased further the laborer's income until many received a bare pittance. Interestingly enough, the salaries of Pullman officials were left undisturbed by the drastic retrenchment policy.⁸⁰

In defending the wage policy, George Pullman explained that he could not see the wisdom of utilizing profits which belonged to shareholders for the purpose of paying men higher wages than were justified by business conditions.⁸¹ To an impartial observer, however, the financial strength of the company was in strange contrast to the pitiful plight of the employees. In 1893 the corporation possessed assets worth \$62,000,000 of which \$26,000,000 represented undivided profits. After the dividends of 8 per cent were paid in that year, a surplus of \$4,000,000 remained from the profits of the year, which was enough for the company to have declared additional dividends of 10 per cent. Pullman stock, never watered, was then quoted at twice its par value.⁸² In spite of the losses sustained in the construction department in 1894, the earnings of the corporation in that year were sufficient to warrant the regular 8 per cent dividends which actually exceeded those of 1893 by \$300,000.⁸³ Had the corporation dipped but lightly into the huge surplus of 1893, there would have been no need for a drastic wage re-

⁸⁰ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv, 547, 551, 554-57, 596, 597. Thomas Heathcoate, one of the strike leaders, affirmed that prior to the strike skilled mechanics received daily \$1.50, and the ordinary laborer \$1.30. Duane Doty, however, estimated the average daily rate of pay at \$1.85, assuming the worker toiled the full ten and three fourths hours. *Ibid.*, pp. 429, 506.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 554.

⁸² "Annual Report of the Pullman Company", *Pullman Journal*, 1893, Jan. 7, p. 3, and Oct. 21, p. 4.

⁸³ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. xxi.

duction, and the suffering of the employees would have been alleviated.

Convinced that their grievances could be redressed only through united effort, four thousand workers organized under the protecting wing of the American Railway Union. The company was presented with the following demands: investigation of shop abuses, reduction of rent, and restoration of wages to the predepression level. The rejection of these terms precipitated the strike on May 11. The poverty-stricken laborers issued an immediate appeal for relief and received from the public and labor unions a gratifying amount of aid.⁸⁴ Numerous attempts were made by the strikers and others to arbitrate the differences, but to each plea for arbitration George Pullman either ignored the offer or replied tersely, "nothing to arbitrate". He was grimly determined to eradicate all unionism from the shops and to operate his company, as always, without any dictation from labor.⁸⁵ The American Railway Union, snubbed on every attempt at arbitration, rallied to the support of the strikers by refusing to handle Pullman cars. This drew the opposition of the General Managers' Association, and the strike immediately assumed national significance. The fast moving drama of this titantic struggle quickly shifted to Chicago, where rioting, pillage, and bloodshed reached menacing proportions.⁸⁶ The military was ordered into the model town, as elsewhere, despite the peaceful, law-abiding character of the Pullman inhabitants.⁸⁷ By virtue of troops, court action, and the strategy of the General Managers' Association, the strike was crushed. The Pullman shops, after twelve weeks of idleness, reopened in August on the terms of the company: the low wage scale, the same rentals, and surrender of membership in the American Railway Union.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii, xxvii, xxxvii, 417; Carwardine, pp. 41-44.

⁸⁵ Pullman, p. 3; Eugene Debs, *The Great Strike of 1894 and Its Features* (New York, 1894), p. 9; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxix, 424, 645-48; Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York, 1929), pp. 132-33. Convinced that Pullman's policy toward labor was anything but judicious, Mark Hanna on one occasion exploded: "The damned idiot ought to arbitrate, arbitrate, arbitrate. . . . A man who won't meet his men half way is a . . . fool." *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxix-xxxi, xxxiv-xl, xlii-xliii; McAlister Coleman, *Eugene V. Debs* (New York, 1930), pp. 125-29. The American Railway Union was organized in Chicago in June, 1893, and shortly afterwards engaged in a strike on the Great Northern Railroad from which the union emerged victorious. Ably led by Eugene Debs, the organization decided to boycott all Pullman cars only after all overtures for arbitration had failed. *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Pullman Journal*, 1894, May 19, p. 8, and July 7, p. 8; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxvii, 452, 505.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii, xliii, 422, 438, 562.

The Pullman Strike left the workers in a demoralized condition. Despite the scarcity of work, six hundred new men were given employment. With public charity exhausted and work available only to a portion of the old population, nearly six thousand people were confronted with starvation. In their distress they appealed to Governor John P. Altgeld, who made a personal inspection of conditions in the town and found them to be alarming. Turning to George Pullman for aid, Governor Altgeld alluded to the ironic fact that men who had worked in the Pullman shops for more than ten years were compelled to apply for relief two weeks after work stopped. Without mincing words, Pullman declined to render any assistance, and the governor was thereupon obliged to issue a proclamation appealing to the people of Illinois for relief.⁸⁹ Normal times eventually returned, but the spirit of the people toward the motives of George Pullman could never be the same.

The Pullman Experiment did not long survive this disastrous labor upheaval. On October 19, 1897, at the age of sixty-six years, the builder and guardian of the model town died, thereby removing an influence which would have resisted the forces bent upon destroying the experiment.⁹⁰ Even more significant, perhaps, was the decision of the State Supreme Court, October 24, 1898, which condemned paternalism and declared the establishment and operation of the model town to be in violation of the corporate privileges of the Pullman charter.⁹¹ The proceedings, which apparently had their origin in the Pullman Strike, were started in August, 1894, by Maurice T. Moloney, attorney general of Illinois. The Pullman Corporation contested the suit vigorously but accepted the final decision without any apparent resentment.⁹² With the defender of the town no longer at the helm, the company bowed to the inevitable and permitted its paternalistic venture to perish.

The dissolution of the experiment was ordered within five years, but upon petition it was extended for five years more.⁹³ The Pullman

⁸⁹ Altgeld, pp. 421-24; *Chicago Tribune*, 1894, Aug. 21, p. 1, Aug. 22, pp. 1, 13, and Aug. 23, p. 1. John P. Altgeld, governor of Illinois during this period, was very friendly to the cause of labor. It was against his protests that President Cleveland sent federal troops to Chicago. Harry Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld* (Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 295-307.

⁹⁰ *Inter Ocean*, Oct. 20, 1897, p. 2.

⁹¹ *Reports of Cases at Law and in Chancery Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Illinois* (Springfield, 1899), CLXXV, 143-49.

⁹² *Chicago Chronicles*, Jan. 7, 1899, p. 2; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 12, 1894, p. 7, Aug. 12, 1894, p. 7, Oct. 25, 1898, p. 7, and Jan. 8, 1899, p. 14.

⁹³ *Calumet Record*, Feb. 18, 1894, p. 1.

Company lost all interest in the aesthetic features of the town and permitted it to degenerate into an ugly shell. Lake Vista was destroyed, and the Playground and Athletic Island were appropriated for industrial purposes. The Arcade Theater was closed, the sewage farm abandoned, and various other institutions and functions discontinued. The library survived, but with different support and under different management.⁹⁴ During the summer of 1907 the public buildings and homes were thrown on the market, the terms being easy and preference being shown to the inhabitants.⁹⁵ On July 9, 1907, a plat of the town was submitted to the City Commissioner of Public Works, thereby terminating officially the existence of the model town as a separate community in Chicago.⁹⁶

The ending of the "noble experiment" did not occasion among the writers and editors any expression of regret.⁹⁷ The logic of circumstances had convinced the idealists and theorists that they would have to search elsewhere for a solution of industrial problems. Paternalism, instead of promoting better relations between employees and employer, had actually provided the laborer with new grievances and placed in the path of industrial peace an insuperable barrier. Improved living conditions and a favorable environment contributed only in part to the contentment of labor. Freedom of action and the right of self-expression were equally important. The strike of 1894, more than anything else, stamped indelibly on the mind of the laborer the true character of the experiment. Convinced that the Pullman corporation had no genuine interest in his fate, the worker became cynical toward the whole venture. The model town thus became a source of bitter disillusionment and finally, exposed with all of its frailties and contradictions, collapsed, joining many other social experiments designed to promote the well-being of the human race.

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⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1901, p. 9; *Inter Ocean*, Apr. 29, 1909, p. 5; *Chicago Chronicles*, Jan. 7, 1899, p. 2; Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, pp. 37-38, 57; Correspondence of Mrs. George Pullman to Bertha S. Ludlum, Dec. 12, 1907, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library.

⁹⁵ *Calumet Record*, May 9 to Nov. 12, 1907.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, July 11, 1907, pp. 1, 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1903, p. 10; *Chicago Evening Post*, Oct. 25, 1899, p. 4; *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1897, p. 6; *Chicago Record*, Jan. 9, 1899, p. 5; *Chicago Journal*, Oct. 26, 1898, p. 4; *Inter Ocean*, Jan. 9, 1899, p. 5; *Chicago Times Herald*, Oct. 20, 1897, p. 6; Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, p. 74, ch. III being Jane Addams's, "A Modern Lear".

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES AT ZURICH

THE Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences was held in Zurich from August 28 to September 3, 1938, under the direction of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which was created in 1926. The committee in charge of the Zurich Congress consisted of Harold W. V. Temperley, Master of Peterhouse, Michel Lhéritier (Dijon), Georg Hoffmann and Hans Nabholz (Zurich), Karl Brandi (Göttingen), François L. Ganshof (Ghent), Marcel Handelsman (Warsaw), Halvdan Koht (Oslo), and Giocchino Volpe (Rome), while the Swiss committee on arrangements, representing the Swiss universities and various Zurich interests, had as its executive body Hans Nabholz, president, Georg Hoffmann, secretary, Ernst Gagliardi, and Anton Largiadèr. These four bore the principal burden of making preparations for the congress and of assuring its success, and to them is due the sincere gratitude of the historical brotherhood.

The advance registration of members and associate members was unusually large: 1185, distributed among all parts of the world (Europe 1097, Africa 11, Asia 19, Australia 2, North America 49, South America 7) and among 49 countries. For various reasons, however, including the uncertainties and difficulties of the political and economic situation, the actual attendance fell substantially below, perhaps by nearly a third, the number of those whose names appeared in the advance issue of the *Teilnehmerverzeichnis*. About twenty-six American scholars are known to have been present; the government of the United States was represented by Waldo G. Leland and Solon J. Buck, who also, with Harold Deutsch, Clyde L. Grose, John L. LaMonte, and Waldemar Westergaard, officially represented the American Historical Association.

The program of the congress, in spite of vigorous efforts to reduce the number of papers read, included 321 communications, of which 145 were in French, 91 in German, 42 in English, 42 in Italian, and one in Spanish. As is normally the case, a considerable number of papers, probably ten per cent or more, were omitted because their authors failed to appear—perhaps not an unmixed evil but a cause of confusion and disappointment.

The program was organized in the following sections: (1) pre-history, (2) ancient history and classical archaeology, (3) auxiliary sciences and archives, (4) numismatics, (5) medieval and Byzantine history, (6) modern history to 1914, (7) history of non-European countries, (8) religious and ecclesiastical history, (9) history of law and institutions, (10) economic and social history, (11) military history, (12) history of philosophy, fine arts, and literature, (13) history of science, (14) historical method, theory, and teaching, (special) historical demography.

In the organization of the sessions a distinction was drawn between those of the mornings, which were reserved for longer communications of more general interest, and those of the afternoons, which were devoted to shorter and usually more specialized papers. The papers showed, as always, a great diversity of interest; inasmuch as summaries of most of them were printed in advance in *Bulletins* XXXIX and XL of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and distributed to all in attendance, those who wish to explore their subject matter can readily do so, an exercise which would undoubtedly be profitable for readers of this brief account. It is with regret that we are obliged to note that only five papers dealt with America, for it is evident that European historical scholarship has as yet but a vague idea of the interest and enlightenment that it would find in the serious study of certain phases of American history.¹ Since, however, only three of the sixteen papers offered by American scholars themselves dealt with American subjects, we are not in a favorable position to lodge a complaint against our colleagues of other countries.

For the program as a whole it should be said that papers of general interest, as well as papers of significance for the study of the present problems of the world, abounded.² Many interesting and some sensa-

¹ The five papers, according to the program, were as follows: Solon J. Buck, "The Services of the National Archives of the United States to Historical Research"; Franklin D. Scott, "Some American Influences on Scandinavia"; Arthur P. Coleman, "The Polish Insurrection of 1830 in the Opinion of a New England City [New Haven, Connecticut]"; Blanche Maurel, "L'abolition de l'esclavage à St.-Domingue et la résistance des planteurs, 1789-1794"; Max Silberschmidt, "Die Bedeutung des Übersten Gerichtshofes [Supreme Court] für die Entwicklung einer Nationalen Politik in den U.S.A."

² Among the papers of general interest may be mentioned, by way of illustration: "Les causes profondes de la ruine du monde antique" by T. Walek-Czernecki of Warsaw; "Kontinuitätsproblem und Denkmälerforschung" by Hans Zeiss of Munich; "Il commercio internazionale nel Medioevo" by A. Sapari of Florence; "Les permanences de l'histoire" by Nicolas Jorga of Bucharest; "L'histoire internationale" by Michel Lhéritier of Dijon; and "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth

tional antecedents and parallels were presented and discussed with animation. Indeed, discussion of a rather high order, facilitated by the printed summaries, characterized the sessions and will be reported in the proceedings that are to be published in the *Bulletin* of the International Committee.

Of the papers listed in the program, 60 were in the field of modern history, 41 in legal and institutional history, 34 in medieval and Byzantine history, 31 in the history of philosophy, fine arts, and literature, 27 in economic and social history, 22 in ancient history and archaeology, with an equal number on historical method, theory, and teaching, 14 on archives and auxiliary sciences, 7 each in the fields of military history and the history of science, 6 in numismatics, and 3 each in prehistory and Asiatic history. This distribution is, however, only approximate, since numerous papers could logically have been assigned to other groups than those in which the program placed them.

It is difficult to distinguish definite trends of historical thought among the communications. If any single tendency was apparent, it was the effort to relate research, even in remote fields, to problems and interests of today. No one who reads the two volumes of summaries can accuse the members of the Zurich Congress of working in a vacuum; historical problems of nationalism were discussed by many speakers from many different countries; the history of international relations provided papers of striking significance; while numerous communications dealt with the historical development of the state, with the history of revolution and class struggle, and with problems of population.

In spite of the strains and stresses of the international situation, the spirit of the Zurich Congress was one of reasonable harmony and mutual respect; sharp differences of opinion, not always due to purely scientific convictions, were sometimes revealed in the discussions, but they were invariably expressed in courteous form and did not give rise to incidents. Certainly the impression was justified that the historians of the world earnestly desire to dwell together in peace and

Century" by E. L. Woodward of Oxford. Among papers of special interest in the light of present-day problems may be mentioned: "Le procès de la renationalisation de la Silésie au XIX^e siècle" by Marcel Handelsman of Warsaw; "Palmerston and the Liberal Movement, 1830-1841" by C. K. Webster of London; "England and the Dogma of Turkey's Integrity and Independence from Palmerston to Disraeli" by H. W. V. Temperley of Cambridge; "Bismarck's Afrikapolitik" by G. Rein of Hamburg; "Die Schweiz und die ungarische Emigration, 1849-1854" by D. Jánossy of Budapest; and "Anglo-German Diplomatic Relations, 1898-1901" by Stanley Trickett of Madison.

friendship. It is an achievement in which the International Committee of Historical Sciences may take a reasonable satisfaction that during a dozen of the most difficult years of the world's history it has been able to bring about the cordial co-operation of scholars of all countries, even though their subject matter, in these days of conflicting ideals and ideologies, is as full of high explosive as was religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The absence of historians from the Union of Soviet Republics was noted with regret, but it was due solely to unsettled difficulties existing for more than a decade between the Union and Switzerland.

The place of the next congress, to be held in 1943, will be decided by the International Committee at its meeting in Prague next May. An invitation has been extended by the Italian government and historians to hold the congress in Rome.

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IMPERIAL REFORM AND THE HABSBURG, 1486-1504
A NEW INTERPRETATION¹

A detailed and scholarly investigation of the constitutional reform of the Empire at the end of the Middle Ages has long been a desideratum. German medieval history after the Hohenstaufen period used to be represented, generally, as merely a process of decomposition of the Empire into innumerable small political units, but lately increased attention has been drawn to the factors which enabled the Empire to survive for three centuries after the close of the Middle Ages.

Recent reinterpretations, however, have not yet merged into a harmonious synthesis. Two contradictory theories have been expounded. One is set forth by Bernhard Schneidler,² the other by the author of the volumes under consideration.

The interpretation given by Schneidler has met with a widespread response among German scholars. According to his view, the innumerable local struggles which at first sight seem to have con-

¹ *Mittelrhein und Reich im Zeitalter der Reichsreform, 1356-1504*. By EDUARD ZIEHEN. Two volumes. (Frankfurt a. M.: Im. Selbstverlag, Winterbachstr. 46. 1934; 1937. Pp. 1-384; 385-878. 12 M.; 17 M.)

² "Die Bedeutung des späteren Mittelalters für die deutsche und europäische Geschichte", *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIX (1934), 93-108, especially, 102 ff.; "Das spätere Mittelalter als ein Zeitalter der Auflösung und der Vorbereitung", *Welt als Geschichte*, II (1936), 349-67.

stituted German history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries eventually served to produce one great effect: the center of gravity, so to speak, in German political life was shifted from the west to the east, from the ecclesiastical electorates and scattered territories on the Rhine to the large territorial states in the colonized provinces of the east—to Bohemia and Austria, to Saxony and Brandenburg. Overshadowed by these new eastern powers and by a few other large territories in the older parts of Germany, the dismembered districts in the west, which had formed the basis of Germany's political life through the Hohenstaufen period, "dragged out an existence which was no longer essential for the destiny of the German community". They lost more and more of their significance in spite of the attempts of the archbishops of Mainz to increase the influence of these petty minor states through a reform of the constitution of the Empire. The destiny of Germany definitely depended on the new strong powers in the east. There, on the eve of the Reformation, the Habsburgs were about to build up a new German state of modern structure.

However impressive this theory may be, it seems to express only half the truth. Besides the efforts of the archbishops of Mainz to reform the constitution of the Empire there was the founding of the Swabian League in the most divided region of the west and the establishment of many local confederations for the maintenance of the public peace and economic life throughout the Empire. Did they not all play their part in the great transformation of medieval into modern Germany?

As a matter of fact, many scholars who, during the last few decades, have studied German history in the late Middle Ages have regarded the confederations (*Einungen*) between individual territories and towns, springing from the free initiative of the partners, as one of the most efficient of the bonds which kept together large sections of the Empire. Ernst Bock describes these free confederations as constituting one of the main factors in the reintegration of the Empire after the interregnum.³ Recently an article by Fritz Ernst has drawn attention to the co-operation of the small estates in the formation of the Swabian League.⁴ After Switzerland had become a more or less independent power and the Palatinate and Bavaria under the Wittelsbachs had de-

³ *Der Schwäbische Bund und seine Verfassungen* (Breslau, 1927); "Monarchie, Einung und Territorium in späteren Mittelalter", *Hist. Vierteljahrsch.*, XXIV (1929), 557-72.

⁴ "Reichs- und Landespolitik im Süden Deutschlands am Ende des Mittelalters", *ibid.*, XXX (1936), 720-31.

veloped into strong territorial states, reaction in interjacent Swabia resulted in the federation of many menaced small princes, knights (*Reichsritter*), monasteries, and towns. The same political evolution which brought about the rise of comparatively large and centralized monarchies in the east and in certain districts in the older parts of Germany strengthened the spirit of free co-operation in other provinces and assisted the reintegration of the Empire, with its old constitutional traditions, on a more modern basis.

The problem is, how far this revival of federative tendencies was capable of creating lasting reforms in the Empire beyond the local and provincial sphere. Was the imperial reform attempted by the Diet of Worms in 1495 and by the council of regency from 1500 to 1502 the work of these invigorated federative forces alone? Ziehen has made this problem the center of his detailed and penetrating study, the outcome of which seems to be in complete opposition to the views of Schmeidler.

Ziehen's interpretation of the *Reichsreform* may be defined as the theory that the movement headed by Berthold von Henneberg, archbishop of Mainz, was the last attempt to lead Germany onto the path which England had trodden after Magna Carta. If Berthold had succeeded in his plans, Germany, in Ziehen's opinion, would have become something like a constitutional monarchy, based on the free collaboration of the crown and the estates. The constitution designed for the imperial council of regency in 1500-1502 would have become the German Magna Carta.⁵ What prevented this was the Habsburg power, above all the personality of Maximilian I. Ziehen agrees with Schmeidler in accentuating the gradual shifting of political power to Germany's colonial east but considers this process as fateful for Germany's future. In the fifteenth century, he thinks, the scales were still balanced. While the Habsburg power and the Prussian and Saxon monarchies were rising in the east, the efforts to reorganize the Empire originated in the old center of German civilization, in the districts along the Rhine. The Empire could be contemplated there in the light of an enlarged Rhenish state on a federative basis, under the guidance of the electors and particularly the archbishop of Mainz as Germany's first ecclesiastical prince and traditional "archchancellor".

The reform failed, in part because of the territorial weakness of the archbishopric of Mainz, even more because of the reluctance of the German east, but mainly because of the opposition of the Habsburg

⁵ Pp. 33, 605, 613, 765 f.

emperor. The frequent dissensions and infrequent collaboration (with lasting results only in the economic sphere) between Mainz, the Palatinate, and the other Rhenish electorates, on the one hand, and the real or alleged resistance of Frederick III and Maximilian I to any attempt at national reconstruction, on the other—these are the two leit-motivs of Ziehen's work. It is pervaded by a grave accusation against Maximilian and the Habsburg monarchy as being responsible for the failure of Germany's national restoration on the eve of the Reformation. All the unfavorable opinions concerning Maximilian which have ever been expressed are collected in this book. The dark traits of his character, which earlier writers did not conceal, have now, says Ziehen, been confirmed from a new point of view. The one decisive thing which was lacking for the reform of the Empire was Maximilian's "goodwill". Whereas Berthold von Henneberg could boast of a "purely German pedigree" (which Ziehen investigates in detail), Maximilian was a stranger to Germany, with the blood of many European nations in his veins. He, not Charles IV, ought to be called "des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation Erststiefvater".⁶

The question on which this theory must stand or fall is the verdict on Maximilian's policy. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult for the reader of Ziehen's book to re-examine his conclusions; the author refers to a wealth of documents and previous publications in his notes but does not, as a rule, indicate clearly which items of information are to be found in each of them. How far, then, may the reader of his book presume that the foundations of the new and striking theory are sound?

There can be no doubt about the fact that at an early stage of imperial reform, as long as the old emperor, Frederick III, alone conducted the affairs of the Empire, the full initiative in all matters of imperial reform lay with Archbishop Berthold of Mainz. But at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1491 the young king, Maximilian, began to act as a delegate of the old emperor and in his place. Our information about the negotiations in that year is so meager that it is difficult to establish the authorship of the important projects submitted to the diet. Among them there was a scheme that the Empire should be divided into five or six military districts, in each of which the estates should be bound to give each other mutual assistance and to defend the frontier of the Empire. Those who advocated these proposals before the plenum were, it is true, the electors and other princes present at the diet, under

⁶ Pp. 168 f., 185 f., 541, 733, 762 ff., 784 ff., 792.

Berthold's leadership. But they had all been previously summoned to the young king. Did the initiative come from him? Erich Molitor, the last scholar who studied the history of this diet on the basis of the available documents, in his excellent book, *Die Reichsreformbestrebungen des 15. Jahrhunderts bis zum Tode Kaiser Friedrichs III.*, reviews the order of events as follows: The first project for military reform was Maximilian's. He discussed it with Berthold, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and Count Eberhard of Württemberg, and it was then submitted by these princes to the plenum in a modified form. "Maximilian", such is Molitor's conclusion, "was really honestly convinced of the necessity for reform" because he hoped to obtain in exchange the financial and military support of the reorganized Empire.⁷

According to Ziehen, the course of events was different. "The Elector Berthold", he says, "insisted on his old plan of a federation of the estates (*Reichseiningung*)". The princes mentioned above supported him. They were all summoned to Maximilian, and after several days' consultation with him they submitted a scheme to the plenum. Maximilian did not make any comment in public. His time was taken up with a gorgeous tournament.⁸ In other words, Maximilian's initiative, which Molitor thought he had established, is not mentioned by Ziehen. The reader is given to understand that Maximilian behaved in an entirely unconcerned manner or even pursued a policy of obstruction to the plan championed by the archbishop of Mainz. There are no indications as to why Ziehen considers himself justified in ignoring Molitor's conclusions, nor does he base his own statements on clear new evidence from source material. One wonders whether any prejudice against Maximilian and the Habsburgs distorts the picture. Ziehen's discussion of the subsequent diet, held at Coblenz in 1492, supplies the answer.

The documents of the diet of 1492 are more abundant and have enabled Fritz Hartung, as well as Molitor, to give a precise account of the negotiations. Maximilian now definitely entered on a policy of *do ut des*. He agreed to the proposals of the estates for public peace, an imperial chamber of justice, and regulation of the coinage, on condition that the reform of the constitution should include military reorganization of the Empire, in order to support him in his war with France. In every diocese throughout the Empire commissaries of the

⁷ Molitor (Breslau, 1921), pp. 209 ff.

⁸ Pp. 399 f.

emperor and the estates, working together, were to levy a tax for a new army, calculated according to the number of hearths; the estates (represented by the electors) were to have a majority of the supervisors appointed in each archbishopric, whereas the army raised with this money was to be led by a general who was to be nominated by the king and controlled by deputies of the estates. From the Brandenburg documents of the diet we know for certain that this well-considered attempt to combine centralized military efficiency with a large measure of control by the estates was Maximilian's work. We also know the reaction of the estates. They agreed to a tax raised according to the method proposed but at a much lower rate; the plan for the military reorganization of the Empire was dropped; the money raised was to be kept for emergencies; the final decision of the estates was to be postponed for a month, until a later diet, the outcome of which could not be foreseen.⁹

Here then we are undoubtedly faced with a constructive scheme and an extremely active policy of Maximilian's for the reform of the Empire—all the more important because later on the famous law of the *Gemeine Pfennig* at the Diet of Worms in 1495 was influenced by this tax project of 1492, although at Worms it was the elector of Mainz who championed the idea of a general tax in the Empire. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts seems to be obvious: although the estates tried to achieve the civil reform of the Empire (*Landfriede* and *Kammergericht*), the king was the driving force in the attempts to reorganize Germany's military power. It was he, indeed, who after Berthold's death continued to work out proposals for a military reorganization and eventually, in 1512, inaugurated the division of the Empire into circles (*Kreise*) headed by *Kreishauptleute*.

How does Ziehen reconcile these facts with his theory that Maximilian was nothing but an opponent of the constitutional reforms attempted by the elector of Mainz? Ziehen merely mentions the counter-propositions of Berthold's group, without saying a word about the fact that these schemes were the answers to projects of Maximilian's and were often nothing but modifications of royal suggestions. We learn from Ziehen's work only that, as "the result" of the diet of 1492, a "remarkable scheme for a tax in the Empire" (the origin is not indicated) was given to the estates to take home with them.¹⁰ This scheme as described

⁹ Hartung, "Die Reichsreform von 1485 bis 1495: Ihr Verlauf und ihr Wesen", *Hist. Vierteljahrsh.*, XVI (1913), 49 ff.; Molitor, pp. 217 ff.

¹⁰ Pp. 424 f.

by Ziehen is in its substance the decision of the estates at the end of the diet. The range of their offer, however, is magnified through the inclusion of some features of the preceding proposals of the king. Thus we hear of the resolve of the estates to reassemble on "25. XI. or (beziehungsweise) 13. XII." to decide definitely on *Reichsreform* and *Reichshilfe*. But we do not hear that this resolution practically implied that the estates did not agree to the date fixed by the king and that they were extending the time for their answer by about a month (from November 11 to December 13). We are also told that, according to the scheme taken home with them by the estates, "knights and foot soldiers were to be raised in Germany by means of a tax". But we are not told that the estates meant only to store up money for emergencies, whereas Maximilian had proposed to them to build up a permanent military organization with army captains throughout the Empire. Finally, we are informed that, "according to another proposal" (the name of the originator is not mentioned), "a commander-in-chief was to reside at Mainz". But we are not informed that this clause had actually been the coping stone of the original royal project and was one of the very points which were canceled in the version taken home by the estates for consideration.

It is this repeated omission of all the facts explaining Maximilian's policy and real aims that makes Ziehen's whole presentation of imperial reform appear in a wrong light. With regard to the Diet of Worms in 1495, for instance, Ziehen correctly states that the law relating to the common penny was in part influenced by the tax scheme proposed at the Diet of Coblenz three years before.¹¹ But as that scheme had not been revealed as Maximilian's creation, the reader cannot correct Ziehen's underestimation of Maximilian's policy. These consequences are felt most of all in the description of the imperial council of regency (set up in the years 1500-1502), which constitutes one of the most important chapters of Ziehen's book. The reader, who is told only that Maximilian, one day in 1501, at the decisive stage of his transactions with the council, left Nuremberg secretly by night and reduced the whole institution to inefficiency,¹² would do well to consult the old but still important monograph, *Das Nürnberger Reichsregiment* by Victor von Kraus.¹³ He would then find that originally Maximilian had favored the establishment of a government by the es-

¹¹ P. 491.

¹² P. 630.

¹³ (Innsbruck, 1883), pp. 116 ff., 120, 154.

tates in continuation of his policy of *do ut des* because he had supposed he would receive from a strengthened Empire powerful military assistance against France and Turkey. But in 1501 he thought that he had been deceived because the estates had not responded to the royal concessions in the administrative sphere with financial support for his foreign policy. Moreover, the council of regency under Berthold's leadership had entered into direct negotiations with France, in almost open revolt against their legitimate overlord, the Habsburg king. "The last remnant of royal authority was at stake", is Kraus's comment, and Maximilian's sudden flight from his false position in Nuremberg was "the only possible measure" left to him.

When these facts are realized, the new interpretation brought forward by Ziehen of imperial reform and of the role played by Habsburg policy in German history about 1500 is untenable. The comparison of the constitution designed for the *Reichsregiment* in 1499-1500 with the development of English history from Magna Carta onward is misleading. The main point of the imperial reform attempted before and after 1495 was not protection of feudal or individual rights against tyrannical royal power or defense of the privilege of the estates to grant or refuse financial demands of the king. The reformers, led by Berthold von Henneberg, had set themselves the task of seizing many of the rights of a decayed royal power, in foreign as well as in home politics, and transferring them to a federative representation of the imperial estates. For a while the estates claimed complete control of the sums brought in by the new imperial tax; they wanted to decide on peace and war and make their own foreign policy, and they entertained direct relations with foreign powers. More appropriate, therefore, than the comparison with Magna Carta in England or the position of the estates general in France would be the interpretation of the policy of the German estates as an approach to a federal state.¹⁴ But even this interpretation is not sufficient, judged by the real course of events. The imperial council of the estates after 1500 lacked farsightedness and initiative in all matters of foreign policy. If Germany as a whole, after a period of thorough dissolution, remained a unit and a factor in European politics and was able to maintain her independence and former structure during the rise of the great Western powers, this was because the confederation of the estates could rely on the military protection of the Habsburg emperors.

¹⁴ Ziehen, p. 68.

A comparison more helpful in explaining the structure of the Empire about 1500 would be with the constitution of the Netherlands a century later. The independence and security of the confederation of the states general was bound up with the fact that military defense and command were centralized in the stadholderate, given to a member of the House of Orange, and that this military command, although repressed in peaceful times, could be renewed in the hour of foreign aggression, as was the case as late as 1672, on the occasion of Louis XIV's invasion. It was a similar type of dyarchy which was at the root of the problems of Germany about 1500. Not only did the Habsburg family defend Germany against the Turks and prevent French predominance in Europe, but Maximilian was also the initiator of all attempts to reorganize the military strength and political efficiency of the Empire.¹⁵ It was not without reason that he was one of the most popular German kings and the center of the humanistic circles in which modern national thought first developed in Germany. Just as the history of the Netherlands can be explained only by reference to the co-operation of the states general and the House of Orange, so the full and final history of German imperial reform must be a picture of the interaction of two factors, both of which helped to bring about a certain reintegration of the Empire. The reform movement of the estates under the leadership of the archbishop of Mainz ran parallel to a regeneration of the royal authority by the Habsburgs.

Ziehen's voluminous work will, therefore, prove useful to future scholarship only if its general conclusions are disregarded, or at least strongly modified, and the book is taken as a monograph which explains one of two contributing factors but leaves the problems connected with the other, the personality of Maximilian, unsolved. The writings of Schmeidler mentioned above, which accentuate too strongly the other factor, should be read with Ziehen's work. Those who study the question should also consult the well-pondered essay of Dr. H. Gerber, "Kaiser Maximilian I", which will give them an excellent idea of what has actually been achieved by scholars during the last few decades for the historical appreciation of Maximilian's personality.¹⁶

One of the reasons for Ziehen's failure in the reinterpretation of the

¹⁵ The same is true of Maximilian's, and even more of Charles the Fifth's, protection of the economic efficiency of the German imperial cities. See my articles, "Religion and Politics in the German Imperial Cities during the Reformation", *English Historical Review*, LI (1937), especially pp. 406 ff., 615 ff., 629 ff.

¹⁶ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, XXV (1935), 149-62.

imperial reform movement of 1486 to 1504 is the restriction of his research to the local history of a small district on the middle Rhine. Under the influence of affection for his Rhenish home, he has obviously been moved by a desire to discover that in the attempts at a constitutional reconstruction of Germany on the eve of the Reformation the most prominent part was played by the lands surrounding the confluence of the Neckar, the Main, and the Rhine, "the heart of Germany" in the terminology of his book. Although the immediate subject of his research is only the relationship of these middle Rhenish districts to imperial reform, he believes that he has solved the problem as a whole because in his opinion the middle Rhenish history of those years was more or less the pivot of the history of the Empire.¹⁷ We have seen the unfortunate effects of this preconception on the description of the diets and reform schemes from 1486 to 1504. But the confusion of a general and a local viewpoint is responsible also for the somewhat complicated architecture of the whole book and for a decided lack of proportion and circumspection in many details.

In the introductory chapters, which take up about two thirds of the first volume, long passages of merely local interest alternate with inquiries into the influence of the Rhineland on general German history from the Golden Bull of 1356 to the period of imperial reform. Two monographs on the lands belonging to the archbishopric of Mainz and the Palatinate respectively—detailed geographical surveys—are followed by a biography of Archbishop Berthold von Henneberg which does not omit a single fact that might be considered to have the slightest connection with his life. Finally we come to the history of imperial reform from 1486 to 1504 and of the part played in it by the territories and cities on the middle Rhine. This principal section of the work occupies the last third of the first and the whole of the second volume. Here, also, perspective is frequently distorted by the introduction into the general history of the Empire of events that are of interest only for the history of the middle Rhine.

In spite of these defects, however, and the more serious misinterpretation to which attention has been called, these two large volumes will be widely studied. The profuse literature on imperial reform and the federative policy of the imperial estates which has appeared since Heinrich Ulmann's fundamental biography of Maximilian has here been collected and utilized for the first time.¹⁸ In addition Ziehen has

¹⁷ Ziehen, p. 7.

¹⁸ *Kaiser Maximilian I* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1884-91).

studied a great number of documents on the subject in the archives of Vienna, Munich, Frankfort, Würzburg, and in other important German depositories. Many of these documents will not be available in print for a long time.¹⁹ Thus to the students of late medieval history Ziehen's work will long remain a frequently consulted guide. It is for this reason that it has seemed desirable to indicate its limitations. The book is welcome as a starting point for further studies, but much of the information and general interpretation contained in it requires careful re-examination.

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GREEK AND ENGLISH COLONIZATION

THE student of colonial America acquainted with Greek history cannot fail to be impressed by certain analogies between the Greek colonization of Sicily and the English colonization of America. Edward A. Freeman, for example, wrote nearly half a century ago, "I can never think of America without something suggesting Sicily, or of Sicily without something suggesting America."¹ More recently the statement has been made that in Sicily and South Italy the Greeks found their America.² In view of such bold assertions it is perhaps worth while to look a little more systematically into the causes and phases of the two colonizing movements.

It is commonly assumed that overpopulation drove the Greeks to seek new homes abroad. The pressure of population upon the means of subsistence was acute in Greece chiefly on account of a faulty distribution of property.³ Land was being concentrated into larger holdings, and an ever-increasing number of people were being systematically excluded from a share of what in a previous age had been the common estate of the family. In the case of England a similar development took place with the spread of the enclosure system.⁴

¹⁹ They are to be published by the Historical Commission of the Munich Academy of Sciences in *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*.

¹ *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times* (Oxford, 1891), I, 342, n. 3.

² Gustave Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work* (New York, 1926), p. 108.

³ J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander* (London, 1927), pp. 86 ff. For a different view insofar as Euboea is concerned see Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London, 1934), II, 42.

⁴ On the problem of pauperism in England as a reason for English colonization see G. L. Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660* (New York, 1908), pp. 32-45.

Whether land hunger was due to physical insufficiency or to social causes, its reality cannot be denied. Toynbee points out that the Greeks met the Malthusian challenge by three methods: Chalcis by the extensive or quantitative method, that is, through colonization or the seeking of new areas for her ploughs in foreign lands; Athens by the intensive or qualitative method, that is, by manufacturing and by specialized agricultural production for export; Sparta by a less inventive means, that is, by conquering her nearest neighbors, the Messenians, a people of her own mettle.⁵ England, infinitely more populous and powerful than any Greek state, used all these methods combined. Like Chalcis she annexed new areas oversea where she might settle her surplus population. Like Athens she specialized in manufacturing and in one agricultural product for export, in her case, wool. Like Sparta she subjugated a neighboring civilized people, the Irish, who, if they did not immobilize her as thoroughly as Messene for a while immobilized Sparta, did hamper at times her freedom of action.

The Greeks began to emigrate at a time of intellectual ferment.⁶ Hesiod had already questioned the justice of the social system. Archilochus of Paros, like the men of the Renaissance, was writing in the idiom of the people and developing new meters for the man in the street. Before the last colony was planted in Sicily, Thales was explaining the universe no longer in the light of tradition but scientifically, and the younger generation was revolting against the theology of their fathers. It is scarcely necessary to recall that an intellectual renaissance and a revolt against medieval religion preceded and accompanied the English migration to America.

The European colonization of the new world took place after the rise of national consciousness and for the purpose of increasing the wealth of the nation.⁷ Indeed it is significant that only those peoples took active part in colonization who had already attained nationhood. Intense devotion to the city-state and a desire to increase its wealth and power operated in the case of Greek colonization. Corinth and Rhodes did not engage in trade as the result of having founded colonies. The contrary seems true. A priori reasoning is seldom convincing, but does

⁵ I, 24 f.; III, 169.

⁶ H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Growth of the Dorian States", *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 533.

⁷ In his *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584) Richard Hakluyt pointed out that America could produce ship stores and potash enough for all the needs of England. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607-1690* (New York, 1927), p. 16. See also Beer, pp. 22-30, 53-77.

anyone seriously believe that the Greek merchant of that day in Corinth, Rhodes, or even Chalcis was so innocent as not to foresee the advantages of trade relations with a new Corinth, a new Rhodes, or a new Chalcis across the sea? Indeed it is held nowadays that commercial considerations alone impelled the Chalcidians to set themselves astride the Strait of Messina.⁸

A glance at the political situation will show that an aristocratic state, causing political discontent, was in a large measure responsible for Greek emigration. The ruling nobility managed public affairs to its own profit. But not all ranks of this aristocracy were satisfied with conditions at home. The *outs* in politics had the choice of making a revolution or seeking abroad those opportunities which they were denied at home. The second alternative was the easier. And so they went to sea. As a first step they engaged in piracy and foreign trade. At a later period they conducted colonies. Their immediate interest in leading these expeditions was the political and economic advantage they were sure to find at the end of the road. Priesthoods, magistracies, honors, privileges, social prestige, large allotments of land, and something like a monopoly of trade with the mother city would be theirs as a matter of course. The *ins* at home gained in the process. Indeed they seem to have encouraged the exodus of their disgruntled peers, since the dangerous tension in which they were living would be materially lessened when the latter left.⁹

The English analogue is striking. In England the ruling class was an aristocracy too—an aristocracy that exercised control in both central and local government. The poorer members of this class, the cadets and the ambitious who saw no opportunity at home, turned to the sea. They too became sea captains, pirates, merchant adventurers, members of joint-stock companies. Piracy, legitimate shipping, and the organization of trade with foreign countries (Muscovy, Turkey, Persia, the Levant, and India) were the first step. The next step was the planting of colonies, and in each case we find aristocrats or country squires, even in bourgeois Massachusetts, leading the common folk to the promised land and getting the lion's share in the economic and the political organization of each settlement.

⁸ For the commercial aims of Corinth in founding Corcyra see Wade-Gery, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, 535; for the struggle of Corcyra against the imperialistic pretensions of the mother city see Freeman, I, 340-42; for the commercial instinct of the Greeks at an early period see M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London, 1929), pp. 22 f.

⁹ Bury, p. 87.

No less remarkable is the resemblance of the economic distress of the Greek and English masses on the eve of their migration. Poverty among the Greeks was produced less by the greed of the princes than by causes which escaped human control. Barter was giving way before the use of money as a medium of exchange, and since money could be hoarded more easily than bulky commodities, the rich became richer, and the gap between the rich and the poor was widened. Those who accumulated money inevitably gathered in their hands also the political power. The evil was greater because the hoarder of money was already a landowner on a large scale or soon became one. The poor, entangled in a mesh of debt, with their homes, their families, and their own bodies as security, excluded from the franchise and the protection of the law, saw two avenues of escape, emigration and the clarification of the law. The latter they achieved by codification.

The economic distress of the common man in England prior to the colonization movement is no less apparent. Suffice to recall the uprisings in Cornwall, Devon, Oxfordshire, and the neighboring counties (1549). Whole villages were wiped out by the process of enclosures; towns were depopulated by the transfer of industry to the domestic system, and men were thrown out of work. The flow of bullion from Mexico and Peru sent the value of specie down and the price of commodities up in England as well as on the Continent. Life became harder for the poor. The Statute of Apprentices of 1563, regulating wages and hours of work and providing for the compulsory employment of vagrants in the fields, aimed at tightening the control of the ruling class over the masses. The poor laws of 1563-1601 did not so much alleviate poverty as give the landed and money-owning classes new tools for exploiting the bedeviled pauper. Englishmen saw two ways of escape from this calamitous state of affairs, emigration and constitutional reform. They sought the second objective by settling the question whether the lawmaking power resided in the king or in parliament. The English solution was more advantageous to the middle class than to the poor. It is probably true also that when the Greeks codified their laws, the immediate advantage went to the upper layers of the nonaristocratic classes. Incidentally we know that this was the case in Rome in the struggle of the plebs against the patricians.

A period of discovery, piracy, and trade preceded the actual founding of colonies. The mass of data which the seamen of the Tudor age brought home about rivers, bays, harbors, and sites suitable for settlement in America guided the future colonists. We need not review the

lawless exploits of the Elizabethan buccaneers on the high seas and on the Spanish Main nor recall their traffic in slaves or their dogged determination to break through the trade monopoly of the Spanish empire. They made the seaboard of North America too their field of operation, and they not only stole from the Indians but even went so far as to kidnap and enslave them.¹⁰ Their pursuit of more or less legitimate trade is fully documented. Before a single English town had been planted on the Atlantic coast Englishmen and other Europeans were exploiting the Newfoundland fisheries, at least fifty ships from Bristol and towns in Devonshire coming over every year to American waters during Elizabeth's reign.¹¹ Some of the English adventurers established trading stations up the rivers of Maine, where they exchanged English goods for skins.¹² Captain John Smith was bewailing this concern for trade to the exclusion of colonization proper.¹³

These overlapping phases of discovery, piracy, and trade have their fullest counterpart in the experience of the Greek people.¹⁴ The voyage of the good ship *Argo*, searching for the Golden Fleece, indicates a period of exploration east of the Greek mainland. Odysseus was a discoverer of fair lands to the west and not the first one either. For long before him Greek pirates had gone to Sicily to kidnap the natives and sell them into slavery in the Aegean world.¹⁵ Indeed they had so organized their sailings as to make them pay both ways. Westward bound they took with them their war prisoners whom they disposed of as slaves in Sicily.¹⁶ It is a commonplace that the early Greeks practiced piracy and legitimate trade as two aspects of the same profession. They were pirates whenever they could get away with it, merchants when they came among peoples with whom they were friends or who were able to resist foreign brigandage. There is evidence that for two centuries prior to the foundation of Naxos Greeks sailed regularly

¹⁰ For example, in 1605 George Waymouth captured five Indians by stratagem in Maine and took them as slaves to England. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, I (New Haven, 1934), 79 f.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23. The Earl of Cumberland alone sent twelve half-piratical and half-commercial expeditions between 1576 and 1598.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 95 f.

¹³ In 1608 Smith berated Sir Francis Popham for sending expeditions to Monhegan "only to trade and make corefish, but for any plantation there was no more speeches" (*ibid.*, p. 95). The settlement at Sagadahoc was a trading post, not a colony (*ibid.*, pp. 90 f.).

¹⁴ Ettore Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, I (Turin, 1894), 269 ff.

¹⁵ Homer, *Odyssey*, xxiv, 211, 307, 366, 389.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xx, 383.

to the western island in this double capacity of pirates and traders.¹⁷

The American continent, when the English first saw it, was all one forest of incredible beauty. So was Sicily when the first Greeks arrived. We have no detailed description of the appearance of the island as we have of America, but it is not difficult to reconstruct one. The country was "woodland", "a wooded isle", a land of "tall pines and high-crested oaks".¹⁸ At a later period Theocritus celebrates the oaks and other stately trees of his native country, and Diodorus gives glimpses of the beauty of its wooded mountains.¹⁹ In brief, we may take it for granted that in 700 B.C. the Sicilian landscape was not essentially different from that of a sister island, Corsica, seven centuries later, which Diodorus calls "dark with dense forests".²⁰

The English were enchanted by the natural beauty, the temperate climate, and the fertility of their new home. In the glowing account of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow to Sir Walter Raleigh (1584) the country they set out to colonize was "the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull, and wholesome of all the worlde",²¹ and according to Captain Smith, "heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation".²²

The earliest Greek references to Sicily are no less enthusiastic.

¹⁷ See below. Theocles was a pirate-merchant. When he was driven by the winds to the shore below Mt. Aetna, he noted the richness of the soil and the inability of the natives to offer effective resistance. On that shore he later founded Naxos. Strabo, vi, 2, 2.

Throughout the period of explorations and raids Greeks and modern Europeans responded in the same manner to the glamor of legendary toponomy. The Trinakia of the *Odyssey* may not have been Sicily but a small isle somewhere in the west (Hom., *Od.*, xi, 107; xii, 127, 135; xix, 275). Freeman identifies it with the corner of Sicily around Messina (I, 106, 462-72). When the Greeks became acquainted with the larger island, they thought of it as Odysseus's Trinakia, and Trinakia they called it. In like manner we find a number of delightful legends about mysterious islands to the west of Europe called Antillia and Bracir (Brazil). Explorers applied these names to some of the lands they discovered because they thought that they had actually chanced upon the places named in the medieval stories. A legendary nomenclature thus became factual. See Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, I (Boston, 1884), 31 ff.

¹⁸ Hom., *Od.*, ix, 118, 120, 186; xii, 357.

¹⁹ Theocritus, v, 45; Diodorus, iv, 5; xiv, 42, 2.

²⁰ Diod., v, 13, 5.

²¹ The account written by Barlow may be seen in Henry S. Burrage, ed., *Early English and French Voyages* (New York, 1906), pp. 227-41.

²² Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia* (New York, 1907), p. 81. I refrain from quoting from the later descriptions of Pennsylvania or Georgia or from the literature which eighteenth century shipowners broadcast throughout Europe because they are clearly prospectuses of promoters. See William Christie McLeod, *The American Indian Frontier* (New York, 1928), p. 549.

Heracles was ecstatic when he beheld the rich plain of Leontini.²³ The northern coast was so fertile that the Sun pastured his cattle in the meadows of Mylae.²⁴ Rams grew so big that Odysseus and his companions could hide under their bellies.²⁵ If the fruits of Virginia excited the imagination of the first English beholders,²⁶ those of Sicily too made their legend.²⁷ The flowers of Sicily also were no less marvelous than those of America. They were so abundant that the Greeks located at Henna, the center of the island, the yearly return of Core from the nether world, bringing with her sweet spring. In Henna, too, so intense was the fragrance of the countryside that hunting dogs were said to lose there the scent of their prey.²⁸ If the oak and pine trees of America provided his majesty's navy and England's merchant marine with an inexhaustible supply of timber and naval stores, the forests of Sicily were so rich that Gelon could plan the construction of hundreds of warships and transports to rescue Hellas from Xerxes.²⁹ And as at a later period in the history of America New England built from her native resources a merchant marine in competition with that of Great Britain, so also later in the annals of Sicily native timber made possible the building of merchant fleets that dominated the Adriatic and the middle Mediterranean in competition with Corinth herself.³⁰ One

²³ Diod., iv, 24, 1.

²⁴ Hom., *Od.*, xii, 127 ff.; Appian, *Bella civilia*, v, 116; Pliny, *Natural History*, ii, 101.

²⁵ Hom., *Od.*, ix, 425-65. These are legends, of course, but they throw light on contemporary opinion.

²⁶ Tyler, "Observations by George Percy" in *Narratives of Early Virginia*, pp. 1 ff. For Maryland see the description by Father White in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 45.

²⁷ To quote from Diodorus's description of a section of Sicily (iv, 84, 1-2): "The Heraei mountains in Sicily are said to be well suited for rest and enjoyment in summer on account of their natural beauty and delightful scenery. They contain many springs of sweet water, and are clad with trees of every kind. They abound in tall oak trees which produce acorns of remarkable size, twice as big and as copious as anywhere else on earth. They are thick with fruit trees which grow of themselves without man's attention. Grapes and apples are so plentiful as to have provided with food a starving Carthaginian army; and although they were several thousand men, the supply was not exhausted."

²⁸ On the sweetness of Sicilian flowers see Diod., v, 3, 2; Columella, x, 268-70; Ausonius, *Epistles*, xiv, 49. They produced the second best honey known to the Greeks and Romans. See Strabo, vi, 2, 7; Ovid, *Tristia*, v, 13, 22; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xi, 32; Virgil, *Eclogues*, i, 54; vii, 37; Silius Italicus, xiv, 199-200; Statius, *Silvae*, iii, 2, 118; Aus., *Epist.*, xxix, 12.

²⁹ Herodotus, vii, 158, 4. Cf. Diod., x, 32, 1.

³⁰ Diod., xiv, 42, 4-5; xv, 13, 1-4.

last word on the yield of the two countries. The first white men in America took special note of wild grapes and wild grain. These same two products arrested the attention of the Greeks in Sicily.³¹

Similar considerations guided the colonists in choosing the location of their settlements,³² and similar causes were responsible for the offshoot of new colonies from the earlier ones.³³ These causes were political and economic and almost duplicated the conditions at home from which the Greeks and the English had escaped.

In the political field, as early as 1632, the people of Watertown began to agitate against the power of taxation assumed by the governor and assistants and for the right to vote. Two years later Newtown was

³¹ For Vinland see Julius E. Olson and Edward Gaylord Bourne, eds., *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot* (New York, 1906), pp. 15-17. John Hawkins writes that the settlers of Laudonnière in Florida made twenty barrels of wine from native grapes in 1564. John Winthrop says that the Puritans made wine from wild grapes during their first autumn in Massachusetts (Winsor, III, 61). On the wild grapes of Sicily see Diod., v, 2, 3-5; v, 5, 2.

³² Both peoples built on the seaboard for the same reasons: because the coast was nearest to their respective homelands, was the most convenient link between one colony and another, and afforded better protection from the natives; because psychologically the settlers felt safer if their ships were in sight; lastly, because good land was obtainable just outside the settlement's palisade. For America see Wertenbaker, pp. 5 ff. It must of course be added that the Greeks instinctively could not be separated from the sea. Odysseus and the founders of Maryland agreed on the essentials of a town site. Odysseus says: "... craftsmen would have made of this isle a fair settlement. For the isle is nowise poor, but would bear all things in season. In it are meadows by the shores of the grey sea, well-watered meadows and soft, where vines would never fail, and in it level plough-land, whence they might reap from season to season harvests exceeding deep, so rich is the soil beneath; and in it, too, is a harbor giving safe anchorage, where there is no need of moorings, either to throw out anchor stones or to make fast stern cables, but one may beach one's ship and wait until the sailors' minds bid them put out, and the breezes blow fair. Now at the head of the harbor a spring of bright water flows forth from beneath a cave, and round about it poplars grow" (Hom., *Od.*, ix, 130-141). The reasons why the first Marylanders settled at St. Mary's were as follows: "This place he found to be a very commodious situation for a Towne, in regard the land is good, the ayre wholesome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bould shoare; fresh water and wood there is in great plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficultie, it will be defended from any enemy" ("A Relation of Maryland", in Hall, p. 73).

³³ The earlier Greek and English colonies founded daughter colonies of their own. In Sicily Naxos founded Catana and Leontini, Zancle established Mylae and Himera, Syracuse colonized Acrae, Casmenae, and Camarina, Megara planted Selinus, and Gela gave origin to Acragas. In America, to give only a few examples, Watertown, Newtown, Roxbury, and Dorchester founded Wethersfield, Hartford, Springfield, and Windsor, respectively, and in the larger sense the Bay Colony was the mother of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The time element is worth noting. Naxos sent out her first colony in the seventh year after her own foundation; the Massachusetts towns just mentioned sent out their daughter settlements in the fifth or sixth year of their existence.

astir when the will of the people's deputies was disregarded. When in 1636 the ruling oligarchy won their point that all measures passed by the deputies must have the assent of the governor and assistants, the people of Watertown, Newtown, Roxbury, and Dorchester struck out for the Connecticut Valley. In Sicily, as far as one can make out, Casmenae and Camarina owed their origin to political secession of some of the older settlers from Syracuse.³⁴ As to the economic aspect, the newer immigrants coming into the Massachusetts towns received allotments of land too small or too poor in quality for their needs or their ambition. When they realized that these towns would not give them the lands they wanted, they migrated to more promising fields westward.³⁵ From the little we know of conditions in Sicily it would appear that the older settlers of Syracuse formed a distinct class—the Geomoroi—holding the land, monopolizing the magistracies, and making it difficult for newcomers to make a living. The struggle between this privileged class and the later landless settlers led to migrations and revolutions.³⁶

Abundance of fertile land in the rolling south Sicilian country combined with a good market to develop a farm economy paralleling that of our southern colonies. But these positive factors were neutralized by a dearth of cultivators, and the utilization of slave labor solved the problem. The result was similar in the two countries, that is, in Sicily mass production of wine and olive oil for export to the African market, in America mass production of tobacco and, later, cotton, for the European market. We are familiar with the princely extent of our southern plantations. As for Sicily, several planters in Acragas had as many as five hundred slaves each.³⁷

The impact of the invaders upon the natives presents impressive

³⁴ For the American experience see Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, I (New York, 1912), 398 ff.; Wertenbaker, pp. 95 ff. In the case of Sicily it would appear that Casmenae was founded by the clan of the Myletids, who were banished from Syracuse (Thucydides, v, 5; Freeman, II, 24, 126 f.). Camarina, although a Syracusan colony, was bitter against the mother city from her earliest existence. This hostility, so unusual in the relations of colony to metropolis, suggests some violent parting of the faction that founded it. See Philistus ap. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Epistula ad Pompeium*, 5, 5; *Roman Antiquities*, vi, 62, 1; A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1870), I, 201, 412; Freeman, II, 34-36.

³⁵ Anne B. MacLear, *Early New England Towns* (New York, 1908), pp. 28 ff., 81 ff.; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 39 ff.

³⁶ Diod., viii, 11; xi, 76, 6. Freeman, II, 11 ff., 37 ff., 328, 436 ff.

³⁷ For wine and olive oil see Diod., xi, 25, 5; xiii, 81, 4-5; xiii, 83-84; for slaves, xi, 25, 2; xiii, 83. Toynbee, III, 169 f.

similarities. To be sure, the margin of safety which the English with their firearms had over the Indians was greater than that of the Greeks over the Sicels. The Greeks' advantage consisted in their iron weapons and protective armor, probably also in their battle formation.³⁸ But the Greeks, like the English, had another means of rendering the natives powerless. Their wines were as devastating to the morale of the barbarians as English brandy or French cognac was to that of the Indians.³⁹

In both America and Sicily the natives retreated steadily before the invader. The Indians went deeper into the wilderness, but they continued to buy more and more of those wares which the English persisted in offering them. The Sicels had lived in and around Syracuse to the end of the Mycenaean period (900 B.C.), importing late Mycenaean ware. All at once there occurs a lacuna of two centuries in the archaeological deposits of the coast. But during the period represented by this lacuna protogeometric pottery was imported from Greece into the interior of the island. The late Senator Orsi construes this as evidence that the natives withdrew from the seaboard before the attacks of Chalcidian pirates but continued to buy in the hinterland the goods which the Chalcidians sold them.⁴⁰

Both in Sicily and America the natives, pushed ever farther and farther back, when they reached the end of their patience, undertook a holy war against the invader. The indignities to which the Sicels were subjected even in their mountainous refuge finally caused them to unite in a powerful league (461 B.C.). Under their national leader, the Hellenized Ducetius, they sought to reoccupy those portions of the island from which they had been expelled. But they failed. It is true that they were allowed to have their own domain and build a city, Cale Acte, where presumably they would be free; but a little later the Greeks built Hadranum to the southeast of that city and Tyndaris to the east, no doubt to keep the natives in check.⁴¹

The Indians in North America reacted in like fashion. Maddened by the relentless pressure of the English advance, they made a last desperate effort to get rid of the invader. They formed a vast league in

³⁸ Gaetano De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, I (Turin, 1907), 313; Toynbee, I, 24.

³⁹ See the episode of Odysseus and the Cyclops (Hom., *Od.*, ix, 346-402).

⁴⁰ Paolo Orsi, "Siracusa: Nuove esplorazioni nel Plemmyrium", *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1899, p. 35; John L. Myres, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece", *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, 670. But see L. Pareti, *Studi siciliani ed ionaloti* (Florence, 1914), pp. 324-30.

⁴¹ Diod., xiv, 37, 5; xiv, 78, 4-7.

which even the Iroquois, long friendly to the English, were represented. Pontiac was as formidable to the English as Ducetius had been to the Greeks.⁴² He nearly succeeded in driving the English from the West. Partly as the result of this lesson the British government decided to be more careful of the rights of the Indian and drew a line beyond which the white man must not go. But the colonial legislatures paid not the slightest attention to this new policy, and the colonists went on clearing the forest and destroying the Indians. The Greeks would probably have been as ruthless had they had the same superiority in numbers and military equipment over the Sicels that the English had over the Indians. Finally we know that behind Pontiac's insurrection there was France. Perhaps behind Ducetius there was Carthage.

The form of government of the Greek colonies was democratic. Each settlement was an independent and sovereign commonwealth. But jealous as these Sicilian Greeks were of their independence, they nevertheless felt the need of acting jointly before Carthage and the Sicels. Their harrowing experience in the struggle against these ever-present enemies developed in them the feeling of a common nationality. When, a little later they faced a new threat, that of Athenian imperialism, they maintained their growing national consciousness even against their brother Hellenes. At the Congress of Gela (425 B.C.) representatives from every city accepted the point of view of the Syracusan Hermocrates that the affairs of Sicily were to be settled by the Sicilians themselves and nobody else, and that all the Greek cities of the island must unite against all foreign intervention, even Athenian intervention.⁴³

The American experience was strikingly similar. The English, who had enjoyed at home a large measure of freedom in local affairs and at the time of the migrations were securing parliamentary independence, established their colonies as substantially self-governing commonwealths. Jealous of one another though the colonies were, they realized that for their own salvation they must submerge their individual claims to freedom and develop a common front before the Indian and French

⁴² Like Ducetius, Pontiac had adopted the culture of the invader. He spoke English, dictated to two secretaries, had visions of making his people learn to weave and forge steel weapons, and paid his debts in promissory notes.

⁴³ Freeman, III, 50 ff. The Siceliot declaration has been compared to the Monroe Doctrine. It seems to me that it resembles rather the American point of view from the Albany Congress (1754) to the First Continental Congress (1774). During those two decades the spirit of American nationalism grew until it challenged Great Britain herself.

menace. The struggle against these enemies sharpened in the colonists a spirit of nationalism which, once it took root, asserted itself even against the mother country.

It was probably not an accident that the strongest advocate of Siceliot nationalism was a Syracusan and that the most ardent champion of American nationalism was a citizen of Massachusetts. Syracuse established a maritime empire and became the largest and richest Greek city prior to the foundation of Alexandria.⁴⁴ Massachusetts and the rest of New England took over in large measure the carrying trade of America. It is probably true that both in Syracuse and New England there was a shrewd realization of the economic advantages to be derived from the emergence of a new nation.

It was perceived both in Sicily and America that the presence of a rival power like Carthage and France effectively blocked the colonists' goals towards the fullest liberty. Dionysius, the master of Syracuse, could have driven the Carthaginians from the island, but he chose to keep them there for the reason that if they remained, the Greeks could not dispense with his generalship and his rule.⁴⁵ John Adams made the removal of "the turbulent Gallicks" the essential condition for the freedom and greatness of America,⁴⁶ while Benjamin Franklin had to use all the resources of his diplomacy to dissuade the British government from being the Dionysius of America. The Syracusan tyrant was wiser in his generation than the British ministry. England expelled France, and with France out of the way the colonists saw that they could dispense with the tutelage of the mother country.

In conclusion, the Greek and English colonizing movements, though far separated in time and place, seem to have risen and developed along similar lines.⁴⁷ A set of like challenges produced a set of like responses. The analogies we have observed suggest that whatever the time and place and actors there seems to be a fundamental element, which may be termed the constant, in the social phenomenon we call colonization. The main features of the expansion of the Hellenes were common also to the expansion of the Phoenicians. Likewise, certain characteristics of English colonization are noticeable in similar enterprises of the Span-

⁴⁴ Diod., xv, 13, 1-4; xv, 14, 3.

⁴⁵ Bury, pp. 641 f.

⁴⁶ *Works* (Boston, 1856), I, 23.

⁴⁷ The religious motive is conspicuous for its absence in Greek colonization. The migration of the Pythagorean brotherhood to Croton to escape the hostility of Polycrates, the ruler of Samos, is hardly a parallel.

iards, the French, and the Dutch. The limitation of our study to the Greeks and the English has the advantage of simplifying the problem. It may be that no other ancient colonizing movement resembles a modern one as closely as the Greek resembles the English, and it is probably too dogmatic to speak of the migration of a people conforming to a pattern. We can, however, hardly dismiss as mere coincidences the striking similarities we find in the stages preceding, accompanying, and following the transmarine migration of civilized peoples to lands inhabited by backward races.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Lasting Elements of Individualism. By WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING.

[Powell Lectures on Philosophy at Indiana University, Daniel S. Robinson, Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 187. \$2.00.)

IN these lectures, dedicated to John Dewey, a genuinely liberal thinker subjects contemporary political morality and institutions to a searching "rational analysis", condemning the current fashion of wholesale judgments on our institutions, a fashion which he somewhat uncritically attributes to pragmatism. According to him liberalism has failed in three important ways: it has divided men when they needed to be united; it has divorced rights from duties; and it has lost its basis in the emotions and consciences of individuals. This practical analysis is supplemented by a dissection of the theories of Mill and Marx, whom he presents as antithetical and whose genuine contributions to social theory he attempts to synthesize. Mill justified economic individualism on grounds of collective utility; Marx justified a collective economy by an appeal to individual good. Professor Hocking justifies his "co-agent" state on moral grounds, relying on the co-operative or "commotive" impulse in the individual conscience to support a government that carries out a common program while profiting by individual initiative. Thus he develops a political philosophy based on the expert execution of common plans rather than on representative legislation. Radical liberty of expression in Mill's sense he rejects in favor of freedom for thinkers; that is, the "thinker" whose "thoughts" are not approved by others should be made to feel their disapproval (though not silenced), partly to develop moral courage in himself and partly to compel him to present his ideas more persuasively.

These conclusions Professor Hocking derives from what he calls the historical dialectic of liberalism, which he conceives as an experimental process for testing antithetical points of view. This process of "consecutive induction" (p. 71) is neither blind groping nor pure thought; it is thoughtful experience. In various other ways he attempts to reconcile idealism and experimentalism. He agrees with Dewey in regarding a society of well-rounded ("incompressible") individuals as more desirable than one in which each performs a fixed function in the "division of labor". Consequently he repudiates the organic theory of the state and outlines a theory of "commotive" social action which closely resembles Dewey's. He differs from Dewey, however, at many points. Though he regards rights and duties as

correlatives, he does not make the social nature of individual rights explicit; they are prior to the state and appear to be derived from the truth-seeking function, which is neither individual nor political. The same may be said for his theory of conscience, though he insists that conscience is a strictly individual possession and product. It is not clear whether the "commotive" trait in human nature is to be attributed to a specific impulse, a passion, a common will, or a conscious purpose; he speaks of it in all these terms. On the whole, his moral psychology seems more individualistic than Dewey's. His theory of education seems closer to Gentile's than to Dewey's, for he would postpone critical and reflective thought until adolescence, teaching the younger child only what is accepted. Thus he contends that a whole-hearted revolutionist is out of place in public schools but should have a hearing in colleges.

Scattered through the book is a wealth of critical comment, brilliant epigram, and mature wisdom, which makes it enjoyable quite apart from its carefully constructed political philosophy. It is more than a defense of individualism; it is a complete social philosophy gleaned from a wide experience by a critical mind.

Columbia University.

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER.

The Savage hits Back. By JULIUS E. LIPS, Visiting Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, formerly Head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Cologne and Director of the Rautenstrauch-Foest Museum. With an Introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski. Translated from the German. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxi, 254. \$5.00.)

It is much to be regretted that this handsome volume, with its more than two hundred beautifully produced plates (sometimes misnumbered in the text) and its keen critical comment on the art of primitive man, should be marred by so much wrong interpretation and so many examples of the anthropologist's fallacy of reading into the social culture of other peoples his own conclusions as to their meaning.

In the vigorously written polemical preface, which by the way seems strangely out of place in what, in spite of the author's disclaimer, is a scientific investigation, the author gives a graphic account of how he, although an Aryan, was pestered and persecuted by Nazi officials when it became known that he was collecting and proposed to publish artistic work of colored peoples which was critical of the white man and thus at odds with the prevailing racial theories of Nazi Germany. It would seem that Dr. Lips has allowed this perfectly understandable bitterness to color his interpretation of the art of the so-called savage. With reference to the Africans, at least, with whom the writer of this review has had a life-long experience, it is extremely doubtful if what Professor Lips regards as caricatures of the white man are much more than the struggle of the poorly equipped artist with

his difficult material. That the Europeanized and sophisticated African does at times make fun of the white man, imitating his speech, his gait, and other eccentricities, is true, but to suggest, for example, that in his representation of the French soldier in Dahomey (Fig. 33) the African intended to convey "the incarnation of crass obedience, of military discipline, of unreasoning submission, of the stiff execution of warrants devised and issued by another" is unscientific unless Dr. Lips knew more about the artist than he reveals. An interpretation more in keeping with the African's temperament would be to say that the artist was trying to represent a white man and that he was doing the best he could with his difficult material and his crude implements.

But if we are able to discount the author's persistent efforts to interpret these models, carvings, and drawings in terms of a thesis which seems to obsess him, there is much profit and enjoyment to be obtained from a study of this carefully prepared book. In chapter 1 we have a good account of the motives and procedures of European colonization in various parts of the world, although here again the author fails to do justice to the many benefits which indigenous peoples have received from Western civilization. In the remaining chapters we have examples of the savage's representation of the white man grouped under such headings as soldiers, traders, missionaries, and officials. The objects are described in careful detail and with a real appreciation of artistic merit. Particularly illuminating and penetrating are the author's comments on the savage's representation of white women and of religious figures.

A special word of praise is due to the unnamed translator and to the Yale Press for the handsome appearance and illustrations of this deeply interesting volume.

Yale University.

CHARLES T. LORAM.

A History of Militarism: Romance and Realities of a Profession. By ALFRED VAGTS. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 510. \$4.75.)

FROM the standpoint of general history this is one of the most original and suggestive military studies to appear in a long time. The author served as an officer in the German army during the World War and has written two solid volumes on German-American relations. His present volume reveals acquaintance with an extremely wide range of material, far beyond the conventional military sources, and he presents a thorough, critical, and comprehensive argument for at least one side of his subject.

This book is not an analysis of strategy, tactics, supply, and other essentially military features. It is, rather, a study of the military caste in its social and political aspects. The distinction, according to the opening lines, is "fundamental and fateful". The "military way", we are told, "is marked by a primary concentration of men and materials on winning specific objectives

of power with the utmost efficiency", whereas militarism, the subject of this study, "presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions, and thought associated with armies and wars and yet transcending true military purposes". The author goes on to say, indeed, that militarism "is so constituted that it may hamper and defeat the purposes of the military way. . . . It may permeate all society and become dominant over all industry and arts".

There is a wealth of pertinent material in this study, which extends from feudalism to the present day, with virtually half the volume devoted to the present century. Space is lacking even to suggest the scores of observations which should give the historian novel viewpoints and illustrations in the field of his particular interest. The course of the military caste is traced from the early modern period, when the new standing armies gave to the younger sons of the nobility congenial employment which they could scarcely have found elsewhere, to its recent ascendancy in the totalitarian states. The conflict of civilian and militaristic interests is analyzed with skill. The most interesting passages are those which deal with Prussia and the German Empire, where military ascendancy was perhaps most thoroughgoing. The other nations of Europe are not neglected, however, nor is the United States.

The author builds up cleverly a powerful indictment of militarism, so powerful, in fact, that the other side does not always seem to receive adequate presentation. Occasionally the borderline between things military and things militaristic seems a bit obscure—when the soldiers failed, the causes were time and again ascribed to considerations of militarism. The author has, at any rate, presented an important new viewpoint and bolstered it with skillfully selected quotations and examples. Possibly it may arouse a counterattack from the military caste. The style is good, and the illustrations contain numerous well-chosen cartoons, but a critical bibliography and an index would have increased the usefulness of the volume.

Princeton University.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Early Man as depicted by Leading Authorities at the International Symposium, The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, March, 1937.

Edited by GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY, Director of the American School of Prehistoric Research. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1937. Pp. 362. \$5.00.)

THIS volume comprises thirty-six scientific papers presented by prehistorians, archaeologists, anthropologists, paleontologists, biologists, and geologists to the International Symposium on Early Man, held in commemoration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. It furnishes the results of

recent explorations and studies concerning human paleontology, prehistoric archaeology, and especially those related subjects which help to illuminate the difficult researches on the evolution, chronology, migrations, environments, and cultural attainments of our remote precursors and ancestors. It will not serve as an introductory or general treatise on the subject of prehistoric man, since there are no descriptive accounts of any of the older-known kinds of fossil humanity. A partial exception is Professor Dubois's interpretive argument concerning *Pithecanthropus*, which, however, requires considerable background knowledge to be appreciated. The title of the book, *Early Man*, is thus perhaps a bit misleading in that a general account of the subject is suggested. The reader who has little acquaintance with the characteristics and geologic occurrence of the various types of fossil man should refer to some standard work on the subject. However, there are clear and informative articles on the two more important recent finds of fossil human remains—Ngandong man (*Homo soloensis*) in Java and Mount Carmel man in Palestine. The especial value of the present volume is for those who wish to go beyond the main and essential subject matter of human prehistory and to learn something of the procedure used in frontier investigations of an elusive but more than ordinarily engaging science. Much of the information contained is widely scattered in periodic literature and institutional publications and would be accessible to only the most diligent specialist.

In "Introductory Remarks" the esteemed president of the Carnegie Institution, John C. Merriam, who also served as chairman of the symposium, opportunely points out seldom recognized values contributed by studies "which have to do with fragments of human beings from a period so remote that there seems little touch with life of today". The discoveries relating to our archaic and grotesque forebears glimpsed through the shadows of immemorial centuries have had a "deep and lasting influence upon our views concerning the nature of human kind".

About one third of the papers are chiefly occupied with the establishment of relative ages of fossil or human remains, of artifacts or other evidences of culture, and of geologic deposits. Members of the human family appear to have been in existence during much of Pleistocene or glacial time, but determination of the proper chronologic sequence of relics and events is a baffling problem. The methods used are various, devious, and ingenious, but often enough the results are inconclusive and unsatisfying because of the fragmentary or undecipherable character of the evidence. Relations or associations concerned with the sequence of geologic deposits (stratigraphy), relative weathering and erosion of such deposits, climatic fluctuations, the succession of types of fossil animals, changes of zones of plant life as recorded in peat deposits, and the evolution and sequence of implements, weapons, and utensils are important factors considered.

Primitive cultures and cultural relics, both in the Old World and the

New, are considered from various aspects. The many implicating facets of the problems, even though but dimly illuminating, are weighted with significance concerning the beginnings of civilization and history. Aside from the articles on fossil human remains in the Old World there are also discussions concerned with the more recent finds of human remains in North and South America which have been considered to be of respectable antiquity. Several contributions pertain to prehistoric migrations, to those extensive wanderings within the Old World as well as to the routes, circumstances, and dating of the original peopling of America. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the American aborigines arrived by way of Siberia and Alaska. Much of Bering Sea is very shallow, and there is abundant evidence that a broad land connection existed at a number of times in the geologic past, serving as a corridor for intermigration of mammalian faunas. Estimates of the approximate date at which man first wandered across this intermittent land range from four thousand to twenty thousand years ago.

About half of the articles are especially concerned with New World problems of one kind or another. Among them is the so-called "Folsom problem", which has attained an important place in American archaeology during the last dozen years. At several sites in New Mexico and Colorado numerous bones of extinct species of bison, camel, and mammoth, together with a variety of stone and bone tools, have been excavated from undisturbed deposits. Charred bones indicate that flesh of the beasts had been used for food. One unique kind of stone implement occurs in these finds—a skillfully chipped laurel-leaf shaped blade with a longitudinal flute or channel on each face. This Folsom point is the only type, made by American aborigines, which is unknown in the Old World. No skeletal remains of Folsom man are yet known.

Two essays consider the remains of fossil anthropoid apes which, chiefly because of resemblances in the dentitions, are believed to represent more or less nearly the kind of creature from which the earliest human forms evolved.

The cover is marred by a profile diagram of a curiously deformed Pilt-down man. It is obviously copied from the well-known restoration by McGregor, whose work was done with the utmost care and fidelity to a superb knowledge of comparative and human anatomy. But the present draftsman has carelessly wrenched the neck amiss, with the result that the effigy is more like a puppet-head on a stick than anything near-human.

The American Museum of Natural History, GEORGE PINKLEY.
New York.

The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible. Edited by ELIHU GRANT. (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research. 1938. Pp. 245. \$2.00.)

THE purpose of the eight studies included in this volume is to indicate

the chief currents of scholarly research in the several fields surveyed and to note more or less fully the important bibliographical material of the past two decades. The articles, though of unequal merit, are all important for the general student who wishes to keep abreast of what the learned world has to say on matters Biblical and archaeological.

The present state of Biblical studies is set forth by two specialists in the Old and in the New Testament fields, respectively. George A. Barton (University of Pennsylvania) opens and closes his treatment of the former field by noting that the trend has lately been away from purely linguistic and political-historical criticism to a full social-cultural approach to the Old Testament through an attempt to discover the *Sitz im Leben* out of which every part came. Although Henry J. Cadbury (Harvard University) is unable to cite any spectacular developments in New Testament studies, he can review the solid sifting work done in lower and higher criticism, including, under the latter, remarks on the influence of the school of dialectical theology of Karl Barth upon the labors of certain New Testament scholars.

William F. Albright (Johns Hopkins University) surveys the results of excavations in the territory bordering the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. He includes a few judicious remarks on the problem recently created by the discovery of Hellenistic Jewish art in Dura. How is the hostility to human and animal representations which is found in Rabbinic sources to be reconciled with the abundance of both in synagogal art? In tacit opposition to the position involved in the thesis of E. R. Goodenough's *By Light, Light* (1935), the author believes that the ornamental and not the symbolical significance of such art was the more prominent, and that consequently there was no general opposition to art unless used for purposes of pagan worship.

At the risk of having made an invidious choice among these surveys for comment, the remainder, *spatii gratia*, can only be cited. Albrecht Goetze (Yale University) was assigned the Anatolian and Hittite field to review; Theophile J. Meek (University of Toronto), the Mesopotamian field; James A. Montgomery (University of Pennsylvania), the Arabian field; and John A. Wilson (University of Chicago), the Egyptian field. Bits of information from all of these are interwoven in a fascinating essay, "The Present State of Studies in the History of Writing in the Near East", by John W. Flight (Haverford College). The editor of the symposium, Elihu Grant (Haverford College), contributes a supplement illustrating Babylonian business at about 2000 B.C.

The several authors have maintained a high degree of objectivity and fairness in summarizing trends of investigation and opinion. These essays are worthwhile compendia of recent contributions to our knowledge of Biblical criticism and Near East cultures.

Princeton Theological Seminary.

BRUCE M. METZGER.

Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily. By LYNN TOWNSEND WHITE, JR., Stanford University. [The Mediaeval Academy of America.] (Cambridge: the Academy. 1938. Pp. xiii, 337. \$4.00.)

THIS excellent and scholarly monograph promises to be definitive on the subject. While pursuing undeviatingly his particular purpose of accounting for the foundation, endowment, and history of the Latin monasteries of Sicily, Mr. White gives us through the evidence on this subject a significant and lucid story of the changes in the population of the island as reflected in the change from Latin to Greek and, through colonization from the north, back to Latin monasticism, and a consistent treatment, based on carefully sifted evidence, of the policy of the Norman rulers. This he does especially in a long and able introduction, in which he traces the history of Sicilian monasticism from the earliest centuries of Christian institutions in the island through the Norman period, giving at each point a judicious summary of the evidence available and of the work done on the subject by previous scholars.

The body of the book discusses the individual foundations, grouping them according to the orders to which they belonged—Benedictines, Augustinian Canons, Cistercians, Sicilian connections of Palestinian monasteries and orders. To this is added an appendix of previously unpublished documents, chiefly from the archives of Patti and the Biblioteca comunale of Palermo, followed by a comprehensive bibliography of printed works. For the monastic establishments of the Norman period, the main subject of the monograph, the material used is, of course, mainly documentary. Great care has been taken in dating the charters and in tracing the history of the forgeries, which are numerous, especially among the privileges of the Palestinian dependencies. At no point does Mr. White fail to do justice to, and when necessary to correct in substance and in interpretation, the work that has been done by other scholars. His own interpretation of the material shows close reasoning and sanely avoids the overuse of slight evidence to prove more than it justifiably should. His conclusions thus gain the reader's confidence. From the unadulterated archival material to which he so strictly adheres Mr. White both adds valuable evidence on the policies of the Norman rulers and suggests by a touch here and there many a human picture of the communities and their abbots, making out of what might have been a dry catalogue a work interesting as well as significant. This successful presentation is in part due to the excellent style, at once clear and compact and yet lightened by felicitous turns of expression that denote a sympathetic and lively perception of the men whose interests were embodied in the charters. For its careful scholarship and its able treatment of a difficult subject this is a work that should be taken into account by all students of medieval Sicily.

Mount Holyoke College.

J. M. TATLOCK.

Mahomet et Charlemagne. Par HENRI PIRENNE. (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions; Paris: Alcan. 1937. Pp. x, 264. 50 fr.)

THE thesis to which this posthumous publication is dedicated was affirmed by its distinguished proponent as early as 1922 in a brief article bearing the same title. He expounded it orally many times, at home and abroad. In the opening chapters of his *Medieval Cities* (1925) the thesis was amplified on its economic and social side, and several of its constituent points received elaboration in articles sequent to that of 1922. When Pirenne died (1935) the manuscript of the present work lay finished as the first draft of a treatise which he probably intended to be definitive. His son, together with a former pupil specially qualified for the purpose, undertook to prepare the copy for the printer. After the text had been lightly retouched by M. Jacques Pirenne, Professor F. Vercauteren applied himself to the twofold task of completing the documentation, in many instances inchoate, and verifying a number of facts, dates, and citations. The evident good judgment with which they have rendered these services leaves no room for doubt that the published volume is "une oeuvre strictement personnelle d'Henri Pirenne" (p. ix).

Nearly half of the book is devoted to substantiating the contention that the Mediterranean unity of ancient civilization was not destroyed by the invasions of the Teutons. In all the Germanic kingdoms, except those founded in Britain, the economic conditions, the social situation, and the intellectual life remained until about 650 fundamentally what they had been in the declining Roman empire. The term of the ancient order came only with the expansion of Islam. By dispossessing Byzantium of all its provinces on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean and by rendering the western Mediterranean a closed Moslem lake, Islam cut short maritime intercourse between the Levant and the Christian Occident. In Frankish Gaul large-scale commerce subsequently vanished, decadence overtook the hitherto relatively prosperous cities, and returns from the tolls dwindled to insignificance. It is insisted that the tolls, rather than the royal *villae* or the ebbing land tax, constituted the principal source of Merovingian state revenue and that the curtailment of this revenue, due to cessation of trade by sea, was the real reason why Dagobert's descendants became so impoverished as to lapse into helplessness and ignominy. If the Austrasian major-domos attendantly rose to power, this was chiefly because they stood at the head of the landed aristocracy, whose dominance gained ground as commerce fell off (pp. 170-74). Stress is laid on the need of recognizing a complete contrast—economic, social, political, intellectual—between the period of the second Frankish dynasty and that of the first. "Avec le royaume franc, mais avec le royaume franc austrasien-germanique, s'ouvre le Moyen Âge" (p. 211). The rupture of the ancient equilibrium involved, further, the separation of West and East, as a result of which the authority of the pope became limited to Occidental Europe. But this mutation too was caused or

conditioned by the Islamic expansion. For the papacy allied itself with the Carolingians in order to secure that protection against the Lombards which the emperors at Constantinople, fully occupied with the Saracens, were unable to extend; and it was the Moslem possession of North Africa and Spain that rendered the king of the Franks master of the Christian West. "Il est donc rigoureusement vrai de dire que, sans Mahomet, Charlemagne est inconcevable" (p. 210). Up to the eighth century, kingship in Western Europe had been (at least in theory) absolute, the church subservient, society lay in character; which is to say that they retained the Mediterranean and Byzantine imprint (pp. 40-43). After Charlemagne the Occident assumed a new aspect; society was fast becoming feudal and ecclesiastical, and the orientation was northern and Germanic (pp. 260-61).

Various questions present themselves as one ponders the implications of this ingenious and fascinating argument. In hinging the Middle Ages on the expansion of Islam, is it possible that Pirenne has oversimplified and unduly foreshortened a long and highly complex cultural transition? Does the persistence in Western Europe well beyond the sixth century of various institutions and traditions inherited from declining antiquity necessarily presuppose an equally long survival of the life and spirit of ancient society? Despite their Roman or quasi-Roman ancestry, do not Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville—to mention no others—evinced much more the medieval than the ancient outlook upon the world? Was it not Gregory the Great, rather than the popes of the eighth century, who inaugurated the work of attaching the northern peoples to the Roman Church? Among the factors operative in separating West and East were not the Lombards fully as important as Islam? And does not Clovis take precedence of Mohammed as a conceptual prerequisite for Charlemagne? Have we adequate evidence to substantiate any general comparison of economic conditions in the sixth and seventh centuries with those in the eighth and ninth?

Reservations on the points now indicated must not, however, be permitted to obscure the significance of this volume. It is a book which seems destined to exercise a potent influence in reshaping current ideas concerning the transition from ancient to medieval times. When this transition began may still remain a question open to discussion; but our author appears amply to have demonstrated that it was consummated in the eighth and ninth centuries. By supplying solid grounds for this view and by showing the high utility of restudying in its light the entire transition process, Henri Pirenne's concluding treatise indubitably qualifies as a contribution of signal importance to interpretative historical literature.

The University of Chicago.

EINAR JORANSON.

The Decline of Chivalry, as shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages. By RAYMOND LINCOLN KILGOUR. [Harvard Studies in

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XLIV.—23

Romance Languages.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xxiii, 431. \$4.00.)

THE ethos of feudalism is chivalry, both as an ideal or concept and later as an institution. In his *Waning of the Middle Ages* Huizinga gave a dramatic account of its decline. Mr. Kilgour's book does not pretend to replace Huizinga's; besides, he confines himself to the manifestations of chivalry in medieval French literature. His most telling observation is taken from Taine: "In the middle and lower classes the chief motive of conduct is self-interest. With an aristocracy it is pride." Nowadays one is apt to forget that personal sacrifice in behalf of pride was the essence of chivalry and, as Mr. Kilgour justly remarks, underlay a "still nobler code, that of the gentleman". The most valuable part of his treatise is its later part; there the historian will find some excellent analyses of texts reflecting the varying attitudes of Frenchmen toward an institution which by the fifteenth century had outlived its day.

Per contra, the weakest part of the book is the introduction on the "Origin and Ideals of Chivalry". Here the author relies too much on older and out-of-date authorities. Such problems as the *beneficium*, the word "fief" and its cognates, and all the intricate relationships of land and military obligations can hardly be treated adequately without reference to the standard works of Calmette, Stenton, Pirenne, Lot, Dopsch, and others. Modern scholarship hardly justifies the view that it was Charles Martel who, "impressed with the speed and flexibility of Arab cavalry", formed the first body of mounted knights to repel an enemy; and to equate the word *fief* with *beneficium* without further explanation is likewise an extreme simplification of the facts. It is doubtless true that "the religious orders helped to free chivalry from feudalism"; but further light on the subject could have been derived by an examination of the "ordre de chevalerie" outlined in Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte del graal* (l. 1637) and in the *Ordene de chevalerie* (Hugues de Tabarie), edited by R. T. House. Again, although the "exaltation of gallantry" was characteristic of the troubadours, the "ideal of chivalry" was more likely indigenous in the north, among the trouvères. Finally, while the causes of the decline (commercialism, pillaging during the Hundred Years' War, the need for disciplined troops, etc.) are adequately traced in the first and succeeding chapters, the institution of the "tournament" (p. 37) and its relation to courtly love is nowhere consecutively brought out; and yet the materials for such a synthesis are now available in all important libraries.

Beginning with chapter v, however, Mr. Kilgour makes some real contributions to his subject. The analysis of Mézières, Bonet, and even Gerson offers interesting sociological material. Here we see the conflict in men's souls, an era in revolt against itself (not unlike the present), and in Gerson a last appeal to the spirit of sacrifice and discipline characteristic of the churchman, especially in his denunciation of tyrannicide as a political

weapon. Chapter VII, on the Burgundian tradition, is perhaps the most informative in the book in its interweaving of history and literature; noteworthy here is the vivid treatment of Le Franc's *Champion des dames* and his defense, in the face of violent opposition, of Joan of Arc. Less good from the literary point of view is the section on Antoine de La Sale. His famous work, *Petit Jean de Saintré*, is artistically a work of high rank; to view it mainly as a "manual of knighthood" (p. 308) rather misses the irony of La Sale's character study. In treating fifteenth century chroniclers, Kilgour shows how the shell of chivalry, namely courtesy, still intact in Froissart, finally cracks until in the Machiavellian Commynes (really Commynes) "chivalric glory is useless", a tinkling cymbal and an empty name.

In spite of certain obvious shortcomings Kilgour's book is worth reading and possessing. It is well written throughout and beautifully printed.

The University of Chicago.

WM. A. NITZE.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

L'organisation corporative du Moyen Age à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Études présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états, II. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux, publiés par les membres des Conférences d'histoire et de philologie.] (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1937. Pp. xv, 198.)

It is not surprising that nowadays the subject of corporative organization in the Middle Ages stands in the foreground of historical research. There are several countries where a return to similar forms of social life can be observed. In 1933 an international commission for the study of the history of estate assemblies was constituted, which now forms a section of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. As early as 1936 some papers were presented to this committee and were published in its *Bulletin* (Vol. IX, pt. IV, no. 37). The present volume is comprised of six important articles on the subject with an introduction by Alfred Coville, the chairman of the commission previously mentioned. These are reprints of lectures given on various occasions and retain the attractive form of oral discourse, though several of them are thoroughly documented. They are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of political theory and practice.

The first article, "Individualisme et corporatisme au moyen âge", is by Georges de Lagarde, a French scholar already well known by his studies on Marsilius of Padua. His article is the most general of them all and gives an account of the basic principles underlying corporative thought in the early Middle Ages. The author distinguishes five periods in the development of corporative thought. The first was the "barbarian" period—we would perhaps prefer to call it the "pre-feudal"—characterized by a naturally devel-

oped collectivism; the second, the feudal period, was purely individualistic and was displaced by a third, the era of free association, culminating in the medieval towns, guilds, and corporations. The fourth period was that of absolute monarchy, which suppressed all tendencies towards an autonomous corporative life. In the fifth period, which began with the nineteenth century, we are now living.

Such divisions into epochs have a certain general usefulness, to be sure, but we must not forget how dangerous it is to force the living stream of historical evolution into a rigid, preconceived system. The feudal period, for example, can hardly be maintained to have been one of pure individualism. Lagarde emphasizes the influence exercised by lawyers and philosophers. The conception of an *ordo* governing all the Middle Ages came from canon law and was taken by John of Salisbury as the basis for a complete system of sociology. Later on, the overwhelming authority of Aristotle led to new conceptions impregnated with elements of Neoplatonism, and the culminating point was reached in the social philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. But ever since the fourteenth century we can observe a decline toward nominalism and personalism, maintained especially by William of Occam and Marsilius of Padua. In the works of Nicolas Cusanus we find hardly anything but reminiscences of the great age of corporatism.

In the second article, entitled "La formation des ordres dans la société médiévale", Émile Lousse, the leading worker in the field of corporatism, describes the origins of the corporative system in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here we are led from social philosophy to public law. He points out that the *ordo* was the missing link between the corporations for particular purposes (for example, the merchant guilds) and the territorial estate. The *ordo* was the acme of the trend toward association; its power was strong enough to disintegrate all the old bonds of hereditary rank and to cross the boundaries of all territorial units. It constituted an obstacle to the gradually developing spirit of nationalism. The organization of this new corporative type was very loose and is to be compared with modern syndicates. At a later age we can observe how fixed charters, following the pattern of feudal contracts, grew and developed. Here we have a clearly palpable connection between feudal and corporative law; and it was the same feudal law which formed the basis and constituted the efficiency of the orders of clergy and nobility. In comparison with those first two "orders" the importance of the *tiers état*, the commoners, was very modest; that order never crossed the defensive line of non-co-operation and resistance. Nevertheless, even the commoners had their fixed privileges, and these were the origin of the liberties conceded in the course of the nineteenth century.

In the third article P.-S. Leicht, the Nestor of Italian scholarship, gives us a concise survey of the early history of parliamentary government in Italy. Here we can see that parliaments were the best support for the growth of

territorial government. Where there was no parliament, the formation of territorial states could be checked by towns or town federations. With regard to the origin of parliaments Mr. Leicht puts forward a theory of his own. He does not dispute that parliaments are juridically connected with the former feudal courts, with the right of the vassals to be heard in matters of government. He asserts, however, that there is no historical relation between the two things because feudal assemblies were festivals given at the expense of the feudal lord, whereas the parliaments were to be attended by the members at their own expense. I do not see that this difference compels us to deny the historical continuity. Very interesting is the evidence given by Mr. Leicht that the introduction of corporatism in Italian territories was an immediate result of the decree of Emperor Frederick II concerning the consultation of *meliores et maiores terrae* (1231). The later destinies of Italian parliaments were very varied; only a few developed into genuine representative institutions for the whole country, while others, as for instance the parliaments of Sicily, were entirely dependent on the monarchy. Nevertheless, the Italian parliaments frequently served as a model, and the principles worked out in them found their way into many European countries.

The two following articles deal with provincial parliaments in France and give practical examples illustrating the theoretical conclusions drawn hitherto. Mr. Cardenal gives us a vivid picture of the assemblies in the little country of Périgord. Here we meet a new element, the religious struggles acquiring influence on the composition of the assemblies. Émile Appolis has discovered a new path of investigation by comparing the two most representative parliaments of France, those of Languedoc and of Bretagne. Comparison certainly is very useful in historical matters. But as a rule there are only matters of external formality to be compared. Yet we have to register some interesting particularities, for example the provision for the maintenance of streets and bridges, which is common to both corporations.

Finally, there is the important article of F. Olivier-Martin, the indisputable authority on the history of French law, who favors us with a masterly survey of the last phase of French prerevolutionary parliaments and with interesting glimpses of the origins of the Physiocratic school. It was the theory of this school which suggested the suppression of merchant guilds by natural law and consequently started the dissolution of the obsolete estate parliaments. The revolutionary movement in 1789 sprang from a part of the old estate parliament, from the commoners, who constituted themselves a national assembly and refused to give the new parliament a corporative organization in the old sense. Naturally the other corporations also had to be suppressed, namely the academies and universities.

Vienna.

H. MITTEIS.

Deutsche Einheit: Idee und Wirklichkeit vom Heiligen Reich bis Königgrätz. Von HEINRICH RITTER VON SRBIK. Bände I und II. (Munich: F. Bruckmann. 1935. Pp. 456; 424. 13.50 M. each.)

A major work by the professor of modern history in the University of Vienna, the biographer of Metternich, is in itself an important event. But when that work launches a new basic viewpoint which bids fair to win wide acceptance, then the event becomes epochal in its significance.

Strictly speaking, the viewpoint was first presented by Professor Srbik in 1929. He suggested a merging of the historic *grossdeutsch* and *kleindeutsch* points of view into an all-inclusive *gesamtdeutsch* outlook, arguing that the frame of reference for German history should be the whole nation or people (*Volk*), not the Bismarck state, which was smaller than the nation. Since the universal-federal ideal of the Holy Roman Empire had played at least as long and honorable a role in the development of the nation and its culture as had the national-state ideal, both were important parts of the German heritage. Moreover both would be required for the political arrangements of the future. He saw in the interplay of the universal, the *mitteleuropa*, and the national motifs the deepest problem of German history, of German present and future conditions (I, 9). This interplay he has analyzed in the volumes at hand. It is pertinent to a judgment of this admirable work that its author is Austrian and German by blood, Catholic in religion, and Viennese by environment, experience, and choice.

Srbik's intention was not to write a general history but rather "a history of the political ideas and forms of the German people in the period of *gesamtdeutscher* past", including social history so far as might be necessary (I, 11). He gives as much space to the decade 1849-59 (Volume II) as to all the earlier history (Volume I). And he has reserved two final volumes (yet to come) for the seven years from 1859 to 1866, for at Königgrätz, as he points out, the great struggle between the ideals of German-middle-European universalism and of a Prussian-German national state was brought to a close. So vast is the literature surveyed that the footnotes constitute a bibliography of all the newer contributions. The part since 1800 is based on his own research in the sources.

Judged by Srbik from the *gesamtdeutsch* point of view, the Habsburg sovereigns, from the very nature of their over-German position, usually come off better than the Hohenzollerns. Masterly analyses of the character and achievements of Frederick the Great and of his "more German" opponent, Maria Theresa, heterodox as they are, should gain ultimate general acceptance. Frederick is the destroyer of the *Reich* (I, 98), and yet his personality took on a *gesamtdeutsch* significance as the symbol of creative willpower (I, 104). Maria Theresa's reconstruction of Austria has no counterpart in modern history, and her charm and greatness provided Germans with a spiritual counterpoise to the cold Friderician heroism (I, 110, 114).

The acid test of a German historian's viewpoint is his treatment of the seizure of Silesia, the Treaty of Basel, the Convention of Olmütz, and the Armistice of Villafranca. According to Srbik, Silesia's loss delivered Bohemia over to a future Slavic majority; it annihilated Austria's leadership in the *Reich* and thereby relieved the Habsburgs of the foremost responsibility for the defense of Germany against France; and it forced Austria still further into a Danubian existence and weakened her German cultural mission in the southeast (I, 102). As to the Treaty of Basel, both Austria and Prussia acted from selfish anti-*gesamtdeutsch* motives; Prussia began the disastrous policy, and Austria did not have a correct appreciation of Prussia's needs; Campo Formio was the consequence and counterpart of Basel (I, 151-57). Olmütz was not nearly the humiliation that the Prussian liberals succeeded in making people think it was; Schwarzenberg was greatly disappointed with the result, and at the subsequent Dresden conferences it was Prussia that emerged victorious (II, 86 ff.). As to Villafranca, it is true that the armistice suddenly undercut Windischgrätz's negotiations in Berlin, but an alliance with Prussia was hardly possible anyhow, and the dangers of the situation in Italy and in his own empire forced Francis Joseph to close quickly with Napoleon (II, 400-407). Srbik implies that Prussia missed a great opportunity in 1859 to serve general German interests, when, by assisting Austria, Lombardy could have been rewon, Sardinia humbled, and Napoleon III annihilated (II, 390). As it was, Villafranca marked the beginning of the end of Austria and the Habsburgs (II, 401). With all of these judgments the reviewer is in agreement. The analysis of Schwarzenberg's ironic personality, flexible policy, and great-Austrian (more than *gesamtdeutsch*) objectives is the best that we are likely to have. The author is equally at home in unraveling intricate diplomatic manoeuvres or the political thought of a period.

The most original contributions are the chapter "War Oesterreich geistiges Ausland?" (in the Biedermeier decades), a question which the author answers emphatically in the negative, and the chapters on 1859. In spite of an "innige Liebe" for the German people, Srbik's treatment of foreign powers and of non-German nationalities in Austria is eminently fair. His own political predilections appear nowhere. The one great blemish in the work—an insufficient account of Prussian development—can be supplied by any number of historians who could not have done justice to the equally important Austrian facet. This defect, however, has made the reception of Srbik's book a stormy one.

Though there is artistry in its monolithic form and vigorous expression, this more analytic than descriptive work gives intellectual rather than aesthetic enjoyment—the pleasure which comes from the appreciation of fresh and original interpretations of a creative mind paired with scholarship of the first rank. Changes of emphasis will be made by later writers according to their lights, but the *gesamtdeutsche Geschichtsauffassung* will pro-

vide the basis for them. In this sense, and because of its penetrating judgments and brilliant syntheses, Srbik's *Deutsche Einheit* should become a permanent landmark in German historiography.

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CHESTER W. CLARK.

Die Besiedlung des nordöstlichen Ostpreussens bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Teile I und II. Von Prof. Dr. HANS MORTENSEN und Dr. GERTRUD MORTENSEN, Göttingen. [Deutschland und der Osten.] (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1937; 1938. Pp. xii, 212; viii, 254. 12 M. each.)

Die zweite deutsche Ostsiedlung im westlichen Netzegau. Von Dr. WERNER SCHULZ, Berlin-Zehlendorf. [Deutschland und der Osten.] (*Ibid.* 1938. Pp. xii, 85. 6.60 M.)

Quellenband zur Geschichte der zweiten deutschen Ostsiedlung im westlichen Netzegau. Zusammengestellt von Dr. WERNER SCHULZ. [Deutschland und der Osten.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xviii, 274. 10 M.)

TOGETHER these four books from the series "Deutschland und der Osten" supply valuable insights into particular phases of the expansion of the Germans eastward. Therewith come striking analogies with American expansion westward which should be of especial interest to American historians and which the authors themselves take pains occasionally to point out. Indeed, their particular problems oblige them sometimes to bring South as well as North America, even Siberia, into their view, thus holding out the promise that ultimately, when more historians discover that there were other national frontiers than their own, a comparative history of frontiers may be written.

There can be no doubt that the studies at hand owe their immediate origin, in part at least, to the difficulties arising from the eastern German boundary and to the kind of history the writing of which the present German government tolerates. It is not meant to suggest that the authors have written official gospel. Except for what seems to the reviewer one notable lapse from fairness, they have written, albeit with a small chip on the shoulder, a certain lack of sympathy for non-Germans, and a pardonable pride in German accomplishment, in a wholly objective manner. Indeed, the Mortensens go so far as at least to hint (I, 124, n. 452) at the great cost to peaceful pursuits which a nation must pay for its military preparations. Since the study of the American frontier will probably never be intensified by national boundary disputes, it may be hoped that we shall not have to wait so long after the event, as is the case with these studies, before rendering a similar account to ourselves of this phase of our past. The admirable methodology of these monographs we could meanwhile take as exemplary.

In their first volume the Mortensens aim to determine for the critical years around 1400 the exact extent of German and Prussian settlement on

the eastern frontier of East Prussia, that is, in the valley of the Pregel and its tributaries. Taking for granted the earlier history of the Teutonic Order and using its abundant and in large part unpublished archives, they show how, rather than wiping out the Prussians in this region, the order founded German villages in the forest regions between the Prussian villages—regions which then had to be cleared. The colonists came, for the most part, from the early German settlements in Prussia. The completeness of the source material makes it possible for the authors to make the following estimates: the proportion of individual Prussian to German landholders at this date was 1:1; the proportion of Prussians to Germans in a population estimated at from 18,000 to 18,500 was 3:2; but, strikingly enough, the proportion of Prussian to German land held in a total of 1700 square kilometers was 1:4. The resulting population density of 11 per square kilometer, they estimate, was only four beneath what was possible in an area of that kind under the given conditions. After Tannenberg the German frontier advanced no farther. There followed a remarkable and tragic decline in numbers of the Prussian peasantry (the authors speak of an earlier decline independent of the conquest) and a concentration of the holdings of Prussian peasants and freemen and even of German peasants in private hands. The decline of the colonization movement was so serious that a contemporary official source could say of the settlements of the region, “dy alle sint daz meyste teyl wüste”. By this time, however, the German and Prussian nobility were hardly distinguishable, and the Prussian villages were undergoing the kind of Germanization that ultimately caused the disappearance of their language. Following the text is a list of every German and Prussian settlement in the region, with such complete references to their mention in the sources as to make of the list a series of short histories of each settlement. The excellent maps present a graphic repetition of the chief results of the text.

In their second volume the Mortensens turn to the area of the so-called Wilderness, between the easternmost extension of German settlement and the Lithuanian frontier, that is, the valleys of the Memel, Minia, and Windau. Here, in an area inhabited by Prussians, Kurs, and probably Lithuanians, the conflict between the Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians caught these peoples in a trap. To remain heathen in their homelands subjected them to the attacks of the Knights. To become Christian and remain in their homelands subjected them to the attacks of the heathen. They therefore moved into the territory of whichever protector they chose. The authors speak, however, of an emigration previous to the appearance of the Teutonic Order in this region. The lands of the Prussian *Nadrauer*, *Sudauer*, and *Schalauer* became waste land, likewise that of the southern Kurs. The subsequent entrance into this area of Lithuanians and Kurs is to be the subject of the third and concluding part of this study of the Mortensens.

Dr. Schulz turns his attention to the resumption in the sixteenth century of German colonization in the western part of the Netze valley after the cessation of medieval colonization there. In very summary fashion, to be explained perhaps by the richness of the accompanying source book, he traces the movement of German peasants from the Neumark and Pomerania to the estates of the Polish Czarnekowskis and Gorkas, where they found a temporary escape from the oppressions of an intensified capitalistic agriculture at home. By the middle of the seventeenth century the whole region north of the Netze, originally 80 per cent forest and swamp, had become completely German, and by the time the movement had spent itself, at the end of the eighteenth century, the region south of the Netze was predominantly German. Obviously, as Dr. Schulz shows, the region had become German long before it was taken by Frederick the Great. It seems necessary, however, to protest against the cavalier fashion with which the author treats the Jewish participation in the growth of towns accompanying the peasant immigration and the introduction of the textile industry. It would appear quite obvious that the Jews were indispensable to the whole movement, the financial aspects of which the author chooses to neglect. They also paid heavily to share in it. The author's own sources for Filehne in 1773 show that whereas the Polish lords collected from the German inhabitants in rent and taxes more than 3000 Polish gulden, they collected from Jews 4116. It is regrettable to have this shadow of unreliability cast on the remainder of the author's excellent work. The maps, for example, reveal in exciting fashion the gradual clearance of forests, the drainage of swamps, and the infiltration of settlers.

The source book is extremely valuable. It amounts to a short history of each of the 206 villages and towns of the area, arranged in alphabetical order and followed by a register of the family names of German peasants and townsmen involved in the colonization, but apparently omitting Jews. From the sources may be gleaned much of the social and economic history which the author does not take time to narrate. One is struck, for example, by the very great importance of beer in carrying the Germans through their difficult tasks.

It may be remarked finally that the history of these two waves of German colonization reveals again the imaginative limitations set by such terms as medieval and modern. For all the differences between them, one can move from one to the other without feeling any great difference in epoch. The cutting of forests, the draining of swamps, and the desire to be free from oppression—these are neither typically medieval nor modern. Moreover, with such studies as these one is impressed again by the fact that so much of the history of so-called medieval Europe is also the history of an expanding frontier. We may hope for the multiplication of studies similar to these, with maps as good, and extended to Western Europe as well.

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Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer: Einleitung zur Geschichte der Besiedlung Amerikas durch die Völker der Alten Welt. VON GEORG FRIEDERICI. Bände II und III. [Allgemeine Staatengeschichte, herausgegeben von Hermann Oncken.] (Stuttgart: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1936. Pp. xvi, 571; xvi, 520. 10.75 M. each.)

THE first volume of this work was published in 1925 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII, 126). The two concluding volumes were to have appeared shortly thereafter, but "die Ungunst der Zeit", leading to the demise of the Allgemeine Staatengeschichte series in 1931, prevented their immediate publication. In 1936 a considerable subsidy from the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften permitted the completion of the enterprise. Hermann Oncken has written a preface to Volume III which stands not only as an epitaph of the distinguished series over which he has presided but also as a moving "Würdigung" of Friederici's life-work in the field of historical scholarship.

A brief summary will indicate the astonishing scope of Friederici's work. (A detailed summary of Volumes II and III is given in the review by Friederici's close friend, K. Sapper, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 199 Jahrgang, 1937, pp. 311-51.) About half of Volume I was devoted to setting the physical scene of the conquest and describing the indigenous peoples of the two Americas. The rest of the volume described the Spanish *conquista*. Volume II begins with the story of Portuguese discovery along the coast of Africa, in the Indian Ocean, and in Brazil (section iv). In section v Friederici examines the slight contribution of Germans in opening the New World, the brief episode of Welser domination in Venezuela. Section vi is devoted to the Iroquois Indians, for whose bravery and political adroitness in maintaining the balance of power between France and England the author expresses high admiration. Section vii describes at length the French discoveries and colonization, with particular emphasis on the demoralizing effects of the rum and weapon trade and the policy of paying premiums to the Indians for enemy scalps. Sections viii and ix, with which Volume III begins, deal with minor episodes, the Dutch and Scandinavian colonizations on the middle Atlantic coast. The author discusses at some length the Viking discovery of North America, which, though it produced no permanent settlement, ranks high in the annals of oversea expansion. Section x, the longest of the entire work, deals with the achievements of the English and the Anglo-Americans. Friederici points out that English enterprise, apart from the dogged attempt to discover the Northwest Passage, contributed but little to the actual knowledge of the New World. Even the penetration of the inland from the middle Atlantic seaboard was delayed for a surprisingly long time, considering the relatively slight natural obstacles which were presented. The bulk of this section is

devoted to an analysis of the social composition of the Atlantic colonies, the nature of their relations with the Indians (exhibited in a very unfavorable light), and finally the character of the pioneering movement which swept in such rapid waves across the continent. The last section describes briefly the penetration into North America from Siberia by the Russians, concluding with the purchase of Alaska by the United States.

A bald summary cannot do justice to the fine workmanship of this book—its wealth of concrete detail, its careful and comprehensive documentation (the index of works cited contains nearly two thousand titles), and particularly its vigorous yet measured style. As Oncken states in his preface it is a fine example “im deutschen universalen Stile”—in the tradition of Humboldt—of scholarly competence in the historical problems of many lands and widely scattered fields of knowledge.

Yet even apart from its wealth of precise information, Friederici's work will be welcomed by historians for reflections which it suggests on one of the most profound themes of world history—the nature and the justification of the impulse for expansion. The author has attempted to avoid final moral judgments on the individuals and groups who participated in the conquest of the New World. He has tried to write in the spirit of Ranke's proud device, “wie es eigentlich gewesen”. He has successfully dodged the perils of “Tendenz”. And yet certain inherent sympathies emerge; certain persistent notes of condemnation bespeak the animus and the passion of a man who feels that we are still living in the shadow of the great events which he is describing.

As Friederici sees it, the discovery and conquest of America was a work of heroic proportions, but in that work the hero is not the conquering European but the dispossessed native. Not only does the author paint in most favorable colors the moral and physical qualities of the Indians. He insists throughout that without their presence and collaboration, without the existence of their means of land and water communication, and in many cases without their active military support, permanent settlement and penetration of the interior could hardly have succeeded. Furthermore, if the role of the Indian was generally both glorious and pathetic, that of the invader—*conquistador*, *bandeira*, *coureur de bois*, backwoodsman—was frequently contemptible and even criminal. The story as Friederici narrates it is monotonously unattractive. Scarcely a vestige of glamor is left. The few orchids which he deigns to distribute are consigned almost exclusively to the giants of exploration, not to the agents of conquest.

Why this persistent denigration of an enterprise which we have been accustomed to view with such complacency? Has Friederici been grinding an axe? As an objective historian should he give way to such notes of personal acrimony as the reference to the World War as a “Raubkrieg” against Germany and the sneer at the official French attitude toward French colored troops (II, 502)?

It is clear that both Friederici and Oncken regard this work as an effective answer to charges that the Germans are unfit, because of peculiar cruelty, to possess and administer colonies. It would be unfair, however, to imply that this monumental book, the fruit of four decades of study, must be regarded as a piece of special pleading. It is true that the reader will feel that he has been listening to a colossal indictment. But it is not France and England sitting at Versailles which are being accused of criminal action. It is the whole of European history. The thoughtful historian may not accept the indictment. But he will surely be left with sober and perhaps melancholy reflections on the impulse for expansion which still stands as the chief enemy of order, justice, and peace in the modern world.

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DANA B. DURAND.

The Voyages of Cadamosto and other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century. Translated and edited by G. R. CRONE. [The Hakluyt Society.] (London: the Society. 1937. Pp. xlv, 159. £1 5s.)

ONE of the best services of the Hakluyt Society has been to render available in English important documents on and chronicles of Portuguese expansion in the Old World and the New. It is pleasant to learn that Professor Edgar Prestage, the Nestor of Portuguese studies in England and translator of the edition of Azurara published by the Hakluyt Society in 1896, has had a hand in producing this volume; and the editor's introduction, by one of his pupils, is a valuable contribution to the history of West African economics, exploration, and geography.

Over half the volume is devoted to the two African voyages (1455-56) of the Venetian Cadamosto (Alvise da Ca' da Mosto). His own account of them, written in the 1460's and first printed in 1507, was first translated into English in 1745. In making this new translation Professor Crone has had the benefit of a recently discovered manuscript of the original. Cadamosto's voyages have never been popular with Portuguese historians, conflicting as they do with the theory that the South Atlantic was *mare clausum* to all but Portuguese. He has been pilloried as a liar and his claim to have discovered the Cape Verde Islands denied; but, as Professor Crone points out, the document is a thoroughly straightforward, plain, seaman-like narrative, intrinsically credible and supported by the maps of Benincasa and other contemporary sources. And it is particularly useful to have Cadamosto now rendered available, for his voyages go far to support the earlier economic explanation of the activities of the Infante Dom Henrique, in which most people believed before R. H. Major invested him with the cross of a crusader and entitled him "the Navigator". Cadamosto's description of the infante's employees exhibiting samples of African wares to Venetians detained by weather at Cape St. Vincent and urging them to undertake an African trading voyage on a fifty-fifty basis is far more

human and credible than the conventional picture of the Hermit of Sagres planning a hundred per cent Portuguese passage to India. Indeed, the documents here printed raise again that awkward question of Vignaud, did the infante ever think of any India beyond that hither-India of Prester John? Did the heroic age of Portuguese discovery antedate Diogo Cão and Bartholomeu Dias?

Other documents translated for this volume are the interesting letter by Antoine Malfante, first published by Charles de la Roncière a few years ago; a part of João de Barros's *Decadas de Asia* covering this period; and Diogo Gomes's narrative of his voyages, taken down by Martin Behaim in 1482. The first two are fresh translations; the latter is R. H. Major's checked by the Portuguese translation by Cordeiro. It would have been better to have made a fresh translation from the earliest known text, the Latin of the Valentim Fernandez codex at Munich, for Major was notoriously inaccurate, and checking one translation by another often leads to new mistakes. We have for instance:

(Latin codex, ed. 1847, p. 26) . . . venerunt *Mauri* de terra in suis almadiis, et portaverunt nobis de suis mercimoniis sc. pannos bombicinos seu cotonis, dentes elephantum et unam quartam mensuram de *malagueta* in grano et in corticibus suis . . .

(Major's translation, *Prince Henry*, p. 288) . . . the natives came from the shore and brought us their merchandise, viz., cotton cloth, elephants' teeth, and a quart measure of malaguettes, in grain and in its pods . . .

(Cordeiro's translation, *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisbon*, 1898-99, p. 278) . . . vieram os *Mouros* de terra nas suas almadias, e nos trouxeram suas mercadorias, a saber, pannos de seda ou algodão, dentes de elephante, e uma quarta de *malagueta* em grão e nas suas cascas . . .

(Professor Crone's translation, the present volume, p. 91) . . . the Mouros came from the shore in their canoes and brought us their merchandise, viz., cotton cloth, or *algodão*, elephants' teeth, and a quart measure of *malagueta* in grain and in its pods . . .

It will be seen that Mr. Crone restores the canoe lost by Major but not the silk; and why repeat the Portuguese words for cotton cloth and for the Moors? "Quart measure" too is misleading, for a Portuguese *quarta* is a small bushel.

Translations have always been the weak point of the Hakluyt Society publications, and there is still room for improvement.

These documents have a value independent of the light that they throw on the perennial but tiresome questions of motive, emphasis, and priority. Cadamosto and his contemporaries were the first Europeans since the dark ages to make direct contact with the Negro kingdoms south of the Sahara, the first to describe the African elephant and the hippopotamus, to observe strange customs such as the silent barter of salt for an equal weight of gold and the court ceremonial of the Jalof kings. Here and there are data

important for the history of navigation. Cadamosto's sketch and description of the Southern Cross are the earliest on record, unless a passage in Dante may be so interpreted. Diogo Gomes makes the earliest known reference to taking latitude from the height of the North Star. We may rightly stress the economic motives of the African voyages, but it was this Italian and Portuguese sagacity in scientific navigation and boldness in penetrating tropic seas that made possible the discovery of America.

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S. E. MORISON.

European Beginnings in West Africa, 1454-1578: A Survey of the First Century of White Enterprise in West Africa, with Special Emphasis upon the Rivalry of the Great Powers. By JOHN W. BLAKE, Junior Lecturer in History, Queen's University, Belfast. [Imperial Studies, General Editor, A. P. Newton.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, published for the Royal Empire Society. 1937. Pp. viii, 212. \$4.20.)

THIS volume is a careful study of the subject with which it deals. It purports to be an introduction, not a comprehensive survey.

In spite of Azurara's failure to mention gold as a motive for Prince Henry's interest in African exploration, the author believes that it was actually the leading motive for European enterprises in West Africa. He rejects the contention of some authors, such as Leroy-Beaulieu, that French discoveries and trade preceded that of the Portuguese on the African coast. On the other hand, he shows that Castilian ships went to West Africa as early as 1454 and thereafter for over a quarter of a century, King John II of Castile even claiming Guinea for himself and demanding Portuguese withdrawal. In the winter of 1478-79 a fleet of no less than thirty-five Castilian caravels was sent to drive the Portuguese away from that region. The chief attraction appears to have been gold, and although Europeans conducted no mining operations there, the term "the Mine" or Mina was applied to the section of the coast where most of the gold was secured. It was obtained from the natives in the form of gold dust washed up by the streams and of gold bangles and bracelets, one ship loading a complete cargo of the latter. In exchange the natives welcomed sea shells and cheap manufactured goods. By the end of the fifteenth century gold dust to the value of "170,000 dobras" was annually being brought from Mina to Portugal, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century "an annual fleet" of twelve caravels for transporting gold had been organized. Huge profits, especially from gold and slaves, reaching from 50 to 800 per cent, were made in these ventures.

Most enlightening is Mr. Blake's discussion of the papal bulls authorizing a Portuguese monopoly of West Africa. Better precedents than the Donation of Constantine for such a grant were found in papal claims to

dispose of Saracen provinces at the time of the Crusades, the grant of Sardinia to Pisa in 1016 and 1045, of Ireland to Henry II of England in 1155, and of Lançerote Island in 1344 to Don Luis de la Cerda. "The Pope could also claim sovereign arbitral power as the spiritual father of the world", says Blake. "He was the representative of Christ on earth. Surely, then, it was incumbent upon him to decide the ownership of new-found lands!" Blake, however, is of the opinion that in reality by 1493, the time of the important bulls, much of this papal authority had been lost, largely through papal dabbling in Italian politics. The Venetians had continued to trade with the Saracens in spite of papal prohibition. Even Portugal and Spain disregarded the papal bulls by making the Treaty of Tordesillas.

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JAMES E. GILLESPIE.

L'Empire français d'Amérique, 1534-1803. Par GABRIEL LOUIS-JARAY.

[*"Choses d'Amérique"*, Collection publiée sous la direction de l'Institut des études américaines.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1938. Pp. 376. 40 fr.)

Some La Salle Journeys. By JEAN DELANGLEZ, Assistant Professor of History, Loyola University. [Institute of Jesuit History Publication.] (Chicago: the Institute. 1938. Pp. vi, 103. \$2.25.)

THE character and exploits of Robert Cavelier de la Salle in New France during the latter quarter of the seventeenth century were to his contemporaries and have been ever since the source of great difference of opinion and interpretation. Gabriel Louis-Jaray considers La Salle the founder of the French empire in North America, the man of great vision and accomplishment who was the first to discover and explore the Ohio, the first to plan the basis of the French occupation of the Mississippi Valley. La Salle's great plans were interrupted by his unfortunate assassination on the plains of Texas, after which Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, carried forward his vision by the founding of Louisiana in the early eighteenth century. Jaray, however, thinks that the French empire in America began to decline with the death of Colbert in 1683 and the weaker administration at home. The Treaty of Utrecht, granting the keys of the St. Lawrence to the British, still further weakened the French hold on North America, which was annihilated after the Seven Years' War.

As the Jesuits even in La Salle's day did everything possible to diminish and decry his fame as founder of French power in North America, so the feud is perpetuated to the present in these two works under review. Father Delanglez herein presents an astute monographic study of La Salle's claims to have discovered the Ohio and the Mississippi. The reviewer has long been of opinion that these claims were false and were prompted by political reasons. Nonetheless Jaray's contention that La Salle was the founder of the French empire in America is sound. His discussion, also, of the later period from 1763 to 1789, of the reasons why Vergennes did not in 1781-83

attempt to recover the French colony in America, is interesting and profound. Finally his chapter on the "heritage of the past", in which after wide travels in America he evaluates the French influence in North America of today is well wrought and sincere. French influence, transformed from political to cultural forces, he finds still potent in North America from Quebec to New Orleans. His book, the product of a lifetime of careful research and thorough scholarship, is the best presentation yet made of the French empire in America, its rise, fall, and cultural influence.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the North-West, A. D. 1576-78. From the original 1578 text of George Best, together with numerous other versions, additions, etc., now edited, with Preface, Introduction, Notes, Appendixes, and Bibliography, by VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON, with the collaboration of ELOISE McCASKILL. [General Editor, N. M. Penzer.] Two volumes. (London: Argonaut Press. 1938. Pp. cxxx, 166; vi, 293. 84s.)

THESE two sumptuous volumes contain a wealth of material and mark a new high in the scholarly study of the eminent Elizabethan navigator. Disregarding the introduction for the present, one considers first the group of seven basic contemporary narratives recording the history of the Frobisher voyages. These make up slightly less than half of the work. Only three of them, those by Sellman, Lok, and Best, were previously printed by the Hakluyt Society under Admiral Collinson's editorship in 1867. Mr. Stefansson adds others: two taken from sixteenth century books not always easily available, a third from the unique perfect copy in the Huntington Library, and the last, an excerpt from Hakluyt's compilation of 1598-1600. This collection is thus richer by far than that assembled by the previous editor and ought to be a great convenience since scholars can now find in one place nearly all the principal texts.

Stefansson annotates this material with fine discrimination. He brings his profound knowledge of the Arctic to bear upon the documents, and the results, always informative, are exceedingly welcome. His remarks on what the voyagers had to say about Arctic climate and Eskimo customs are shrewd and penetrating. Where justified, he bestows authoritative praise on the travelers for their acuteness in observation (I, 39, n. 1; 99, n. 1), and he readily detects their errors and false conclusions (I, 55, n. 2; II, 21, n. 1).

One hundred and thirty-five pages of "Supplementary Material" relating to the financial and other aspects of the three voyages are drawn from his predecessor's publication. In happy contrast with Collinson's method, Stefansson unites this collection of sources and classifies it lucidly. Fourteen appendixes treat a variety of special matters, among others, Frobisher

bibliography, Eskimo words in the narratives, Frobisher's testament, and the chemical nature of the ores he brought back to England. Here, too, are found new documents lately discovered by Dr. George B. Parks in the Huntington Library.

An introduction of 130 pages supplies a masterly preface to the documents and traces the line of explorations into the North and West which culminates in Frobisher. It well deserves republication as an independent piece. Norse colonization in Greenland and Iceland and Norse exploration of lands still more remote are discussed, and rival theories to account for the "disappearance" of the white settlers are canvassed. This brilliant synthesis, to which it is impossible to do full justice here, is erected upon a surpassing acquaintance with the old sources, Latin and Scandinavian, as well as with the modern international literature on the subject. The monograph fittingly terminates with a long biography of Frobisher, which sums up all that has been established concerning him. On that seaman Stefansson bestows the twin citations of "rediscoverer of Greenland and reviver of sailings to north-eastern America".

What of the format of these expensive volumes? The text, printed on Japan vellum, is set in an excellent modernized face of Baskerville Roman, with ample margins to take care of marginalia in Baskerville italic. Binding is in grained vellum with buckram boards of a warm red color. However, it is a pity on the whole that the English tradition of distinguishing between the cased book and the bound book has been compromised in the present instance. Furthermore, collotype or photogravure would have been preferable to the rather coarse screen photoengraving used for reproducing the 1578 title page and for the modern camera shots (II, 247). In all of these examples distinctly muddy effects result from the use of the 120 point screen. A three-color printing job would have made a much neater map (I, cxiv).

Berkeley, California.

FULMER MOOD.

The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621. By R. TREVOR DAVIES, Dean of Degrees and Modern History, Tutor of St. Catherine's Society, Oxford. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 327. \$6.00.)

Philip II. By WILLIAM THOMAS WALSH. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xvi, 770. \$5.00.)

THE first of these books is a readable summary of Spanish history from the death of Isabella the Catholic ("1501" on the title page is probably a misprint for "1504") to that of Philip III. One naturally wonders at the exclusion from "The Golden Century of Spain" of the reign of the greatest of Castilian queens and at the inclusion therein of that of one of the weakest of Spanish kings; but Mr. Davies has chosen to summarize the great achievements of 1469 to 1504 in an introductory sketch and doubtless feels that

the literary and artistic splendors of the first two decades of the seventeenth century justify him in carrying on till the death of the monarch who, as Quevedo said of him, "ceased to be king before ever he began to reign".

When one attempts to cover so vast a field in so short a space, it is obviously necessary not only to omit much but also to cut across established lines. Mr. Davies's selections and arrangement will not appeal to all students of the period, but some of them are certainly original and suggestive, as when, for example, he links the confusion in Castile during the last twelve years of the life of Ferdinand the Catholic with the rising of the Comuneros and the Germania of Valencia, in a chapter entitled "The Era of Revolts". The reign of Philip II occupies the center of the stage and is treated in four chapters entitled, respectively, "Philip as a Man and a Statesman", "The Protestant and Mohammedan Perils", "The Unification of the Peninsula", and "Philip's Weltpolitik". There are a couple of useful appendixes on Spanish coinage and bullion imports from the New World, which show that Mr. Davies has kept up with the recent literature on these topics. Unfortunately it is not evident that he is equally familiar with all the works which are listed at the end of the volume, though he comments intelligently on the more important of them.

A number of minor inaccuracies may be found throughout the book (*e.g.*, the misdating of Parma's death on page 220), but it is not worth while to enumerate them here. More serious are the statement on page 21 that the "discoveries of Columbus made Castille the pioneer of all the great colonial empires of modern times", which is to ignore Portugal, and the very misleading account of the councils on pages 121-26, which conveys a totally false impression of the relative positions of the Consejo de Estado and the Consejo Real. And we cannot conclude without a vigorous protest against Mr. Davies's spelling of proper names. To call the western kingdom "Castille" rather than "Castile" is French, not English; "Aragón" does not need an accent in a book in the English language; "Andalusia" is preferable to "Andalucia", and "Douro" to "Duero". In all such matters it is far better to follow the practice established one hundred years ago by William Hickling Prescott.

A famous Venetian ambassador once said of Philip II that when he was an old man his only recreation was repose. The poor king certainly needs it now. No less than seven different accounts of his life and reign have been published within the last ten years; most of them are bad, the one which lies before us unquestionably the worst. The standpoint from which it is written is violently Roman Catholic (*e.g.*, p. 716), and the author's ignorance and credulity are appalling. He is obviously deeply disturbed by the fact that Philip often found himself at odds with the papacy and the Society of Jesus and reverts to it again and again; but he never offers a candid explanation of the reasons why. He is apparently quite incapable of

drawing any distinction between the different authors whom he cites; he is as willing to believe Hilaire Belloc as Ludwig von Pastor. Errors of fact are to be found on almost every page, and the judgments on men and events are extraordinary. "The French Calvinistic education of Anne Boleyn" (p. 31) is a typical phrase. (There may be some question as to whether Anne was sent to France to become "one of the French Queen's women" in 1514 or at later date, but there can be no possible doubt that she returned to England at least as early as the beginning of 1522, before John Calvin was thirteen, and her head was cut off in the year of the publication of the *Institutes*.) Countless other similar lapses might easily be cited. And Mr. Walsh has a most irritating habit of trying to show off his knowledge by ostentatious efforts to correct mistakes that other authors did not make, revealing his own preposterous incompetence in the process. On page 332, for example, he takes pride in pointing out that "Vesalius was not an Italian doctor but a Dutchman", whereas Vesalius, as a matter of fact, was a Belgian, born in Brussels.

The book is handsomely bound, printed, and illustrated; the author loves to dilate on the dramatic and picturesque, and it is by no means impossible that his work will be widely read. The best thing that can be said about it is that his prejudices and ignorance are so obvious that no one with the slightest smattering of historical knowledge or training will be in any danger of taking it seriously.

Harvard University.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Kaiser Karl V.: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Reiches. Von KARL BRANDI. (Munich: F. Bruckmann. 1937. Pp. 568. 12.50 M.)

KARL Brandi, who passed the Biblical age a few months ago, has dedicated the greater part of his life as a scholar to the study of European history in the period between 1400 and 1600. His monograph, *Die Renaissance in Florenz und Rom*, and more recently his article on the Italian Renaissance in the *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte* are evidence of his wide knowledge of fifteenth century history, while his two volumes on the German Reformation and Counter-Reformation display his mastery of the confessional age. These books are indispensable for the student of the period who is in need of a fair and critical summary of the great amount of specialized research done by historical students during the last two generations. Thanks to Brandi's soundness of judgment, sense of historical perspective, and literary talent, the diffuse masses of material and problems have been unified into a well-organized picture of the whole epoch.

The present book is, however, of a different type. It is a work of minute and largely original research, based on a complete mastery of the primary sources which have become accessible since Ranke, a century ago, began

the critical examination of the documents of the period. It is unfortunate that Brandi has left us without any information about the preparation of his work, especially about how often he has gone beyond the publications to the archives or has had his younger friends check the originals. He could have given us a key to one of the most intricate and confused chapters of historical bibliography, but all hints of this character have been suppressed. I have a strong suspicion that it was the publisher who forced the omission of footnotes and bibliography upon the author and thus impaired the usefulness of the book in the hands of professional historians as well as of a good many general readers. Even so the author in arranging his text could have done more to relate his own research and interpretation to those of his predecessors in the field. His rare allusions to the work of other scholars will be understood only by a very few students.

Kaiser Karl V. is the historical biography of the statesman, and as such it will become a standard book in sixteenth century history, for there is hardly any significant episode in the general history of the years 1516-58 in which his policy was not an influential element. Brandi tries to interpret the political decisions of the emperor as the results of his universal aims and responsibilities. In the first part of his book he describes Charles's Burgundian education and the ideals of chivalry and medieval piety which he imbibed and was to retain throughout his life. Subsequently he deals with the period in which Charles slowly acquired what his ancestors had left to him, the government of the Netherlands, Spain, and Germany.

The second part of the book treats of the period between 1522 and 1530—in political history the time of the struggle for the domination of Italy; in the biography of Charles a decade of training in the school of his chancellor, Gattinara of Piedmont, who made him conscious of the inherent possibilities of his imperial office and taught him devotion to the duties of a ruler as well as the new rational techniques of government. The successful subjugation of Italy and the death of Gattinara mark the end of the time in which Charles matures to full statesmanship. The years after 1530, dealt with in the third part of the book, see the emperor framing his own policies. The struggle for the control over Germany, the reform of the church, and the termination of the Protestant revolt then form the major objectives of his reign.

Brandi has given his book the subtitle: the growth and destiny of a personality and of an empire. This was well chosen insofar as he wished to express the relation of Charles's character to his political task. It may, however, lead to misunderstanding. Charles was not the founder of his empire but had been born into a position prearranged for him by a shrewd dynastic diplomacy. It was certainly a great personal achievement that he proved himself able to assume control over his kingdoms and to maintain himself successfully during his lifetime. But he was unable to integrate

his provinces into one unified empire. To be sure, he bound Italy to Spain, but in Spain he merely completed the work of Ferdinand and Isabella, namely, that of creating a national government; he did not make Spain the true center of a restored Roman empire. The definite separation of the Netherlands from Germany brought about by him laid the foundation for the autonomous development of a nation, while within the German *Reich* he showed himself incapable of turning the tide that moved towards the establishment of sovereign territorial entities. His ultimate imperial aims were frustrated by the course of events, and none of his successors renewed his aspirations. Still by wielding power for forty years he was able to impress his personality upon the coming age.

The objectivity with which Brandi approaches his subject is admirable, and his wide historical learning enables him to move easily with the emperor from one nation to another. The weakness of the book is that we get only glimpses of the internal life of the people. The domestic problems of Spain and the Netherlands and the deep religious conflict in Germany appear only at moments when they disturb the plans of the emperor and then almost exclusively in the haphazard form of single and isolated individual opponents. The author would probably reply that Charles conceived of the political issues in such a personal manner. But there is no reason why the modern historian should accept this viewpoint. We can arrive at a just appraisal of Charles's statesmanship only by a fuller treatment of the institutional and social forces of the age and by a closer study of the new national societies and their philosophies of life. The reader should feel the contrast between the unalterable personality of Charles and the new historic movements following their own determined course. In the light of these events Charles would not turn out to be a supreme figure, though his stubbornness and his great staying power made him one of the most distinguished personalities of his century.

By focusing his attention upon diplomatic and dynastic history Brandi attaches too great a historical significance to the actions of the ruler. In fact a good many of Charles's moves are less important than his personality as such, which needs comparison with other social types and schools of thought to gain its true proportions and contours. Social and intellectual history could add realistic color to the portrait which emerges from Brandi's pen. But through its able literary presentation, which avoids the pitfalls of false hero worship, and through its rich documentation the work will remain for a long time to come the starting-point of all research on the greatest Habsburg monarch.

Yale University.

Hajo Holborn.

European Civilization: Its Origin and Development. By various contributors, under the direction of EDWARD EYRE. Volume VI, *Political and*

Cultural History of Europe since the Reformation. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. 1624. \$7.50.)

FOUR sections of four hundred pages each (which represents the scope of this fat book) should be sufficient to give a comprehensive, a well-organized, and an illuminating interpretation of European civilization since the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, this work is in organization conventional, in emphasis distorted, and in interpretation limited to the authoritative Catholic point of view.

Nearly half the volume is devoted to "A Chronicle of Social and Political Events". It is difficult to see why the word "social" should have been included, since the chronicle is strictly political. It is also as strictly chronological as possible, passing from one country to another with such disconcerting frequency that all sense of continuity is lost. With these limitations the chronicle is succinct, clear, and accurate enough as to facts, although the interspersed judgments, when any are ventured, are usually conventional and sometimes unwarranted—such, for example, as the judgment of Metternich and the Holy Alliance. A chronicle of political events is no doubt always useful for reference, but after all there are plenty of facts, more conveniently arranged, in Ploetz's *Epitome*.

The last half of the volume is devoted to what we must suppose to be "cultural" as differentiated from "political" history. It contains eleven chapters, "The Paraguay Missions", "Ireland's Place in European Civilization", "The Jews", "The European Tradition in Literature", "The Education of Peoples", "The Exegetical Method of History", "The Scientific Method of Natural Science", "Philosophy", "The Decline of Authority", "The Catholic Church and Modern Civilization", and "Non-Papal Christianity". That by far the longest chapter is the one on the Church, and that the Paraguay Missions should have been elevated to the dignity of special treatment, is significant of the Catholic bias that pervades this interpretation of modern civilization. The chief value of these chapters is indeed not their interpretation of modern history but their presentation, for those who are not already familiar with it, of a nonpolemical, fairly liberal, yet frankly dogmatic version of the Catholic attitude towards modern history.

This attitude is well illustrated by Sir Ambrose Fleming's treatment of modern science. His long chapter is devoted chiefly to an accurate cataloguing of the principal scientific discoveries since the sixteenth century, ending with a qualified approval of the achievements of modern science. The qualification has to do with three "errors" in fundamental assumptions made by "many scientific minds". The first error is the postulate of "Intelligibility in Nature as the test of truth", which leads to the rejection of Creation "because it is said to be inconceivable". The second error is an unwarranted extension of continuity in nature, which requires us to suppose that the processes we observe in the present operated in the past

also. The third error is the unwarranted extension of the mechanistic principle, which rules out the "true fundamental idea" that "the universe is . . . the manifestation of a Supreme Intelligence". An examination of the presuppositions of modern science is indeed worth while, and Whitehead has occupied himself with it to some purpose. But an examination which is confined to rejecting what is inconsistent with Catholic dogma is at the same intellectual level and springs from the same motive as an examination which is confined to rejecting what does not square with the dogma of Dialectic Materialism—or any other dogma.

Historical method, at the hands of M. C. D'Arcy, suffers the same fate. While it has greatly advanced knowledge, he writes, the work of most historians, particularly those engaged in Biblical exegesis, has been vitiated by certain fundamental errors implicit in the historical method. The chief result of these errors is that most historians have "ceased to think of the supernatural as possible; and this defect is like a beam in the eye which prevents them from arriving at the true estimate and interpretation of that Providence which has guided man from the beginning towards the great and final mystery of the Incarnate Word". One of those instances, perhaps, in which the beam proves less obstructive than the mote! "The Decline of Authority" is a fascinating subject which, treated with grasp and insight, should prove most illuminating. Mr. D'Arcy makes no more of it, however, than that "the change over from the authority of God to the authority of the people . . . has been responsible inevitably for the decline and collapse of authority in every direction". Even this theme, properly treated, might have yielded much. But as Bagehot said of Gibbon that the style of his autobiography indicated that he could not distinguish between himself and the Roman Empire, so we may say of Mr. D'Arcy that in his treatment of authority he fails to distinguish between God and the pope. But it is in the long chapter on "The Catholic Church and Modern Civilization" that the pope becomes the measure of all things: Pius IX did not condemn modern civilization in the *Syllabus*, as is so often said, but only those claims which are detrimental to civilization rightly understood. In this chapter, as the author, Mr. E. C. Butler, frankly says, the theme is "the indisputable, up-to-date, authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church by the mouths of her Supreme Pastors and Teachers—a teaching that it would behoove the whole world to listen to".

Perhaps it would. But in understanding the world in which we live, it helps us little to be told that another one, now irretrievably lost, was better.

Cornell University.

CARL BECKER.

European History since 1870. By F. LEE BENNS, Indiana University. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 925. \$4.50.)

From Sedan to Stresa: Europe since 1870. By VICTOR L. ALBJERG, Professor of European History at Purdue University, and MARGUERITE HALL ALBJERG. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1937. Pp. xxii, 1187. \$4.50.)

A History of Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL, Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. New Edition. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1938. Pp. xi, 819. \$4.00.)

Readings in Modern and Contemporary History. By ARTHUR N. COOK, Professor of History, Temple University. [The Century History Series.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 361. \$2.50.)

THERE is frequent complaint of overproduction of textbooks. From the standpoint of the historical profession and the needs of the schools it is indeed scarcely necessary that every publishing house should have its own history of every country and every period. But there is another side to the question. Every decade should have its own histories, either entirely new works or corrected and amplified new editions. So swift is the stream of events that none of the books touched on in this review are written as they would have been a few years ago, even with respect to events that took place before that time. It is not merely a question of new evidence, new opinions, and new references; it is quite as much an affair of arrangement and perspective, the sorting out of the enduringly influential event from the transient incident.

Professor Benns's *European History since 1870* emphasizes chiefly the period since 1914, which occupies three fifths of the book. The narrative is factual and almost wholly political. There are very few expressions of opinion. The bibliographies are exceptionally full. This book and the same author's earlier *Europe since 1914* are probably the most purely objective texts on the recent period that have appeared. His self-restraint does not always make for easy reading, but it has value in a work of reference. A few errors that had crept into the early editions of *Europe since 1914*, such as the definition of "Third Reich", are corrected in the present volume (p. 668, n.).

The Albjergs' *From Sedan to Stresa* is a book of the same general type and of about the same length. It devotes approximately half of its pages to the period before 1914, but it does not contain more political material on the prewar years; the difference lies in the insertion of chapters on science and industry. Neither book attempts to say much about art, literature, and general cultural developments. A feature of the Albjerg volume is the number of statistical tables, such as those on the fluctuating value of the mark (p. 889) and on the number of agricultural laborers required before and after the development of machine industry (p. 470).

Professor Schevill's *History of Europe from the Reformation to the*

Present Day is the revision of an earlier work which has been long admired and much employed in college and university teaching. Unlike Benns and the Albjergs, Professor Schevill expresses his own opinion freely on a number of topics. No one doing this can expect, of course, to command universal assent. The present reviewer, for example, cannot but think that in discussing the war guilt program the book lays insufficient stress on the importance of handling the Near Eastern question in the traditional "Concert of Europe" fashion instead of by the unilateral action of Austria. Had this point been conceded, as Britain, Russia, and France all preferred, there need have been no war at all in 1914. Nor will everyone assent to the author's disparagement of idealistic philosophy (p. 766) or his Ruskinian indignation at eclectic architecture (p. 774). The book is well illustrated and attractively prepared.

Professor Cook's *Readings in Modern and Contemporary History* is not a "source book" in the usual sense. It is rather an illustrative series of chapter essays taken from present-day historians on the topics of recent history.

The University of Michigan.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism. By CHRISTINA HALLOWELL GARRETT. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 388. \$6.50.)

THIS is a valuable book. It consists in the main of what Miss Garrett calls a Census of the Marian Exiles, that is to say, brief biographical sketches containing all that she has been able to find out about the life in exile of those English men and women who, for political or religious reasons, left England during Mary's reign and found refuge on the Continent. Altogether there are 472 separate entries, but since in 100 cases the entry includes a man and his wife Miss Garrett has taken separate account of 572 refugees, without counting children and servants. She has located, in all, 788 persons, which comes near to the 800 which was John Foxe's rough estimate of the number of those who fled.

Miss Garrett's researches have been confined in the main to German and Swiss archives. She has found relatively little material of significance which is not already in print, but much of what is in print has been neglected by students of English history. Her examination of the archives of Strasbourg has been fruitful, and she prints, for the first time completely, a list of English students at the University of Basel during the years of Mary's reign. It is to be regretted that she did not have an opportunity to examine carefully the archives of Embden, a haven for religious refugees from many quarters. Dr. Hagedorn pointed out many years ago (*Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt im 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1910, p. 123, n. 2) that there was good promise of material there on the Marian refugees. But Miss Garrett has this in mind to do later.

She has added considerably to our knowledge of the lives of many Englishmen who were to be prominent figures in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is to be noted as a rough index of their importance that of the 472 of whom she treats, 87 were significant enough to find places for themselves in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Many of these biographies will have to be revised in the light of her findings.

Her objective, as she declares frankly in her preface, was to discover "the origin of the cabal against the Queen which certainly existed in Elizabeth's first parliament" (p. vii). Unfortunately we shall have to wait for her promised second volume before we can learn much about this cabal, but this much she vouchsafes, that it was a Protestant cabal and that it found expression in the parliamentary debates over the Act of Supremacy. She is convinced that the origin of this cabal is to be found in the Continental history of the Marian exiles.

It may be there. This much she is convinced is there, to wit: that the migration originated before, not after, the Marian persecution; that it was premeditated, directed, and financed by a group of stay-at-home Englishmen; and that the promoting spirit behind it all was Sir William Cecil.

We admit at once that the migration began before the persecution, though we suspect that the fear of persecution was a strong impelling force. We admit that stay-at-home Englishmen were interested in these emigrants and contributed something to their support. There is some reason to believe that this support was paid into a common purse and distributed by a common treasurer. But Miss Garrett presents no convincing evidence to sustain her views about Sir William Cecil's part in the business. After Elizabeth's accession Cecil was appointed one of a committee of four to make plans for the "alteration of religion". By some logic of her own Miss Garrett concludes that these same four at the beginning of Mary's reign "formed themselves into a kind of executive council for Protestant affairs" (p. 16) and directed the Marian migration. The only evidence she presents for this view of the matter is a list which John Strype gathered together of twenty-six men and women who assisted the refugees with money and clothing and provisions, and neither Cecil's name nor the name of any other of the committee of four appears on that list.

We suspect that a close examination of Cecil's career during Mary's reign will reveal the fact that he was rapidly making his adjustments to the Roman Catholic order of things and might well, if Mary had lived longer, have won for himself a prominent place in her government. Like Bacon, his brother-in-law, he was of the willow and not of the oak. Of course he had friends among the emigrants; his father-in-law and his brother-in-law were prominent among them. And he evidently maintained his contacts. But that is a long way short of the position to which Miss Garrett assigns him.

No one doubts that the Marian emigrants played a large part in the

establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth, and it will not be surprising if Miss Garrett is able to prove that they opposed the Act of Supremacy because it did not go far enough. But we do not need to assume on that account that the migration was "one of the most astute manoeuvres that has ever carried a defeated political party to ultimate power" (p. 1).

It is a pity that Miss Garrett has not been content to present her findings without imposing upon them more than they can well sustain. Students of Tudor history will find much of great value in her *Census of Exiles*. But they should be careful to distinguish between her facts and her hypotheses. The distinction is not always quite clear in her own mind.

The University of Pennsylvania.

CONYERS READ.

Le secret de Marie Stuart. Par ROGER CHAUVIRÉ. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1937. Pp. xii, 317. 30 fr.)

PROBABLY no man worthy of the name, even though he be a historian, can treat the career of Mary Stuart without being emotionally affected by its romance and its tragedy. Religious partisanship, national sentiment, Mary's fabulous reign and magnificent death—all these combine to quicken the pulses of the most sober scholars and to make scientific objectivity largely an illusion.

The present work succeeds better than most in avoiding the pitfalls which beset a writer on such a theme, and this in spite of the fact that it is intended to appeal to the general reader as well as to the serious student. M. Chauviré very wisely points out that Mary, like Napoleon, would not be the legend she has become in the pages of history without her dramatic captivity and death. It is, however, a little unfortunate that the author tends towards the conception of Mary as an inexperienced, warmhearted woman, driven to desperate measures by treacherous intrigues at home and implacable persecution from England. Elizabethan policy toward Scotland has been nowhere so clearly examined as in Conyers Read's *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, but this book is surprisingly omitted from M. Chauviré's bibliography. As a matter of fact, Mary's talents were of a very high order. She set herself an impossible task: the overthrow of Protestantism and the restoration of Catholicism in the northern kingdom; the reduction of the feudal Scottish nobility and the establishment of a Renaissance monarchy on the Continental model; the deposition of Elizabeth as a heretic and the ultimate restoration of Catholicism in England with herself as its champion. The wonder is not that she failed, but that she came as near success as she did. She was a worthy antagonist for her great rival to the south, and Elizabeth did well for herself and for England to take her seriously. It is this aspect of Mary's career more than any other which needs elucidation at the hands of future historians, and that gap the present volume, good as it is, does not fill.

After Jean Héritier's excellent chapter on the Casket Letters (1934) as well as M. Chauviré's own article in the *Revue historique* (1934), it was difficult to see what more remained to be said on the subject. We have here a fresh and lively discussion of this always fascinating problem, though no startling discovery was to be expected.

M. Chauviré is eminently readable and has a firm grasp of the sources and a wide acquaintance with most of the important secondary material. His study is a worthy and valuable addition to that array of volumes which, through three and a half centuries, has confirmed the prophecy made by Mary Stuart herself: "Dans ma fin est mon commencement."

Harvard University.

EDWARD A. WHITNEY.

Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas, 1545-1592. Par LÉON VAN DER ESSEN, professeur à l'Université de Louvain. Tome V, 1585-1592. Avec une Étude iconographique par FRANCIS KELLY (Londres). (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions. 1937. Pp. xiv, 424.

THIS volume completes the admirable biography of Alexander Farnese by Professor Van der Essen. Although it covers only seven years in the life of Farnese, it is the most important of the five impressive volumes, partly because the subject covered has been treated for the first time by a scholar who consulted all the available primary sources and partly because the critical years immediately preceding and following the defeat of the Invincible Armada formed an important period in the political history of Europe, in which the prince (since 1587 called duke) of Parma played a role of major significance.

The author throws much new light upon the career of Farnese and upon the foreign policies of both the king of Spain and the English queen. On the other hand, lack of space or of time appears to have prevented the writer from consulting some of the primary sources that illuminate the aims of the Dutch rebels. The struggle was continued very largely as the result of the policy adopted by Philip II, who was determined to extinguish Protestantism in his dominions. Although the Dutch occasionally insisted upon the maintenance of their ancient political liberties and the departure of the Spanish troops (p. 206), the narrative supports the view presented in the preface of the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1585-1586*: "It is very probable that if he [the prince of Parma] had been able to offer the more Protestant provinces 'freedom of exercise of religion' as well as 'freedom of conscience', they would have accepted the terms" (p. 18).

Farnese was unfortunately the victim of the misdirected foreign policy of Philip II, who refused to listen to Farnese's advice when in the beginning of 1588 the Armada was equipped and when a little later the incompetent Medina Sidonia was placed in command of the fleet. Farnese realized from

the beginning that the enterprise was bound to fail, for he needed far more money than had been forthcoming. Moreover, the unwieldy Spanish galleons were ships of the wrong type for the undertaking planned by the king of Spain. What was still worse, the latter decided after the assassination of King Henry III of France in 1589 to sacrifice the attempted conquest of the northern Netherlands to intervention in France. The last four years of Farnese were therefore filled with disappointment.

The value of this volume is enhanced by twelve beautiful plates and an excellent iconographical study by Mr. Francis Kelly. The documentation leaves very little to be desired; the absence of an index is compensated for by an extensive table of contents; typographical errors are very few in number, and those that have been noted by the reviewer are not important.

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

The Last Elizabethan: Sir John Coke, 1563-1644. By DOROTHEA COKE. (London: John Murray. 1937. Pp. xvi, 322. 15s.)

The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns, 1566-1638. By LOUISE BROWN OSBORN. [Yale Studies in English.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 321. \$3.50.)

SIR John Coke left behind him one of the essentials of a good biography—namely, a voluminous correspondence. On the whole, the authoress has taken full advantage of her opportunities. She shows that Coke was an excellent administrator: clearheaded, industrious, scrupulously honest, and loyal to a master whose policy did not always command his approval. Much of the value of the book, so far as political history is concerned, consists in seeing how the statecraft of James I and Charles I appeared to a devoted servant. Those who wish to vindicate Buckingham and his two royal masters from parliamentary strictures will derive no support from this work. Because neither of the early Stuarts was able to cut his coat according to his cloth, Coke was condemned to a hopeless struggle to maintain a strong navy. A number of letters here cited show how grievously the seamen suffered through lack of pay and food fit to eat. When dealing with Coke's thorough reform of the post office, reference might well have been made to the valuable work of J. C. Hemmeon. Apart from politics, Coke was a fine type of gentleman, devoted to his family and attached to rural life.

John Hoskyns well deserved rescuing from the obscurity into which he had fallen. A minor poet, the author of a prosaic treatise entitled *Directions for Speech and Style*, a friend of the great, a member of parliament who was imprisoned for his bold opposition to the court, and a sergeant-at-law, he was, as an all-round man, a typical Elizabethan. His verse, whether in Latin or English, is mediocre, though occasionally amusing and witty. He was a good letter writer. Perhaps the most interesting passage in his letters

to his wife concerns his hope that his legal practice would yield him more than £200 a year. The thorough research on which the biography of Hoskyns is based and the careful editing of all his literary remains deserve high praise. The only source of information that Miss Osborn seems to have overlooked is the collection of Bridgewater manuscripts in the Huntington Library. Hoskyns had a little correspondence with the Earl of Bridgewater about the sheriffs and legal officials of Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and Carmarthenshire.

The Huntington Library.

GODFREY DAVIES.

The Theory of Religious Liberty in England, 1603-1639. By T. LYON, Sometime Scholar at King's College, Assistant Master at Eton College. [The Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1937.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 241. \$2.25.)

Mr. Lyon has contributed a well balanced and critical discussion of the development of the theory of religious liberty in England during the early Stuart period. Grounded in a thorough knowledge of the historical setting of the era, the essay analyzes a difficult and complex subject with clarity, precision, and fine balance.

The survey of the historical development of the idea of toleration provides an adequate summary of the problem, and Mr. Lyon exhibits an admirable knowledge of the philosophical questions involved. It may be suggested that he deals in rather summary fashion with Hooker, who may be held to have stated in classical form the historical attitude of the Church of England on the manifold problems arising from dissent and to have framed a noble and tolerant conception of that church. It would also appear that the author detects Socinian influences in England and in Holland at somewhat too early a date. Though vague charges of Socinianism were occasionally leveled at persons not acceptable to the orthodox, there is little evidence of ordered Socinian thought in England before the revolutionary period.

A skillful treatment of governmental policy during the first four decades of the century provides the foundation upon which the more detailed discussion of the various schools of thought is based. The necessary brevity of Mr. Lyon's consideration of Stuart policy during this critical period probably accounts for his failure to deal adequately with the consequences of the shifting of the position of the Church of England from the bases which Elizabeth had maintained and Hooker had defined. The vigor of the Laudian policy accounted not only for a steady worsening of the political situation but for a rapid hardening of Puritanism into extremism. England was in 1640 divided into two extremist camps in religion, and, as always happens in such periods of crisis, the moderate position, which Mr. Lyon reviews with such sympathetic fullness, was destroyed in the harsh clash of

conflicting systems of orthodoxy. It might also be indicated in this connection that Puritanism became, under the pressure of a short-sighted governmental policy, a symbol of resistance which attracted several groups and many individuals of very diverse character. Sectarian lines became blurred and indistinct; Puritanism was from 1620 to 1640 a coalition movement whose leadership was Calvinistic but which included allies that were to slough off at the moment when pressure was relaxed. Sectarian divisions were hardly as sharply defined as Mr. Lyon would suggest during this confused and nervous era.

The author's consideration of Latitudinarian thought is a valuable and impressive synthesis which displays thorough mastery of the materials, a balanced judgment, and a tempered enthusiasm for what was surely the noblest group of spirits that England has ever known. These men, Falkland, Hales, Chillingworth, and the rest, counseled moderation and tolerance as the finest attribute of the human mind and as the condition of spiritual peace in England; they were destroyed by a civil war which was to hasten the triumph of toleration in England, though that toleration came to rest upon bases which the last of the English Humanists would have declared ignoble.

Scripps College.

W. K. JORDAN.

Essays, Historical & Literary. By Sir CHARLES FIRTH. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 247. \$5.00.)

No single memorial volume could adequately reflect the breadth and variety of the work of Sir Charles Firth, the many-sided scholar who died in February, 1936 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 608). Yet this collection of reprinted essays, primarily devoted to topics which bridge the fields of literature and history, admirably suggests a good many of the other interests of its distinguished author. We read of the ballads and broadsides of Shakespeare's time, of Sir Walter Raleigh, Milton, Clarendon, and Bishop Burnet as historians, of John Bunyan and his allegories, and of the political allusions in *Gulliver's Travels*. In so doing, it is true, we find little to remind us of the writer's teaching activities, his editorial work, and his interest in diplomatic history. But the sample study of balladry brings to mind the many others which Sir Charles made. There is a dash of military history in the account of Bunyan, a bit of Scottish lore in the analysis of Burnet, and more than a little of the Interregnum in the essays on Milton and Clarendon. With a little stretch of the imagination Gulliver may stand for the nautical side of the author's interests. Mr. Godfrey Davies, who performed the editorial labor of love for this volume, has chosen well.

Sir Charles belonged to the school of modern historians which places factual accuracy before emphasis on interpretation. Though a convinced liberal himself, he did not feel it necessary to argue the merits of his case.

His practice consisted in being sure of his facts and then letting them speak for themselves. It is therefore both natural and appropriate that under his able tutelage we can here witness the gradual development of modern critical standards. In Raleigh's work *Prometheus, Dido, and the Argonauts* are accepted without question as historical characters. A generation later Milton is revealed as hesitating over Brute and the legendary kings of Britain but finally including them on the ground that they had "received approbation from so many". In Burnet, however, with his passion for printing in full—albeit not always accurately—his original sources, we find the dawning of the era to which Sir Charles himself belonged. Burnet was biased enough, it is true, but he understood historical method and the obligations of the historian in the matter of citing his proofs. It is a great pity that the learned critic nowhere mentioned the bishop's splendid work in discovering and making partially available the famous Zurich letters, which have shed so much light on the political and ecclesiastical history of sixteenth century England. In thus putting foreign archives under contribution to the cause of English history Burnet anticipated Froude and his successors by a century and a half. Indeed this feat was, in many ways, the most modern of all his accomplishments.

The author also brings out quite clearly the attitude of the seventeenth century historians that their work should be useful as well as entertaining, their conviction that men can be taught to act wisely in the present by learning the lessons of the past. When the essays were written, thirty or forty years ago, this attitude seemed out of date and possibly a trifle humorous. In an age less certain of the ultimate triumph of the values it cherishes these earnest contenders for their various faiths seem rather more respectable. If Bunyan would probably have classed most of the prominent writers of a later day "with Talkative, the son of Saywell, who dwelt in Prating Row and discoursed glibly of the history and mystery of things", perhaps that should now be food for thought rather than amusement.

The University of Chicago.

M. M. KNAPPEN.

Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1700. By GLADYS SCOTT THOMSON, Somerville College, Oxford. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1937. Pp. 406. \$4.00.)

Glanerought and the Petty-Fitzmaurices. By the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 225. \$5.00.)

Eighteenth-Century London Life. By ROSAMOND BAYNE-POWELL. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1938. Pp. vii, 385. \$3.75.)

Miss Weeton: Journal of a Governess, 1807-1811. Edited by EDWARD HALL. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xxi, 351. \$3.50.)

THERE is always a question in that still ill-defined, ill-organized, and too often ill-written department of what is called "social history" as to the point of view, the materials, the mode of presentation, and the emphasis to

be laid on this aspect or on that. The field is still in what may be called the Herodotean rather than the Thucydidean stage of its development. It has not been long since there was published a long and elaborate account of the Victorian era which, while it stressed the cost of living of Manchester operatives and London clerks, omitted any save the most trivial mention of the men who made the Age of Victoria what it was. From its pages, and from too many others like them, one might gather that society, both in its static and its dynamic aspects, was composed almost, if not quite, entirely of the submerged tenth, whose chief chronicler is the statistician.

These are not books of that kind. Miss Thomson's volume, like V. Sackville-West's account of Knole, which appeared some years ago, gives us an admirable picture of the private life and activities of William, fifth Earl and first Duke of Bedford, who, unlike his son, the "martyr" Lord Russell, played no important part in politics. Drawn from the household accounts of Woburn Abbey and Bedford House, it provides a remarkable survey of life in a noble household in the seventeenth century. The volume by the Marquis of Lansdowne, though it is of a different type and covers a far longer period, does a like service for Ireland. It is, in effect, a sketch of the Petty-Fitzmaurice family and its activities from the days of Sir William Petty and the Down Survey to the nineteen-twenties. It is naturally less minute; it is far more anecdotal and less antiquarian than historical, and it provides an infinity of side lights and illustrations of Irish history for some three centuries.

Miss Bayne-Powell's volume is again of a somewhat different character. It is more like the old "microcosm" which was once so fashionable. It partakes of the gossipy, antiquarian, anecdotal history, or rather historical description, which has been popular for generations and is likely to be popular for generations more. It breathes the very spirit of the eighteenth century; it is lively and entertaining, yet it is, as well, extremely informative, good history as well as good literature. In a sense Mr. Hall's edition of the journal of the governess, "Miss Weeton", that amazing bluestocking whose epistolary production for the four years from 1807 to 1811 fill more than three hundred pages, supplements Miss Bayne-Powell's volume. That obscure teacher, whose income never rose above a hundred pounds a year, who spent most of her unhappy life in the country, who poured out her soul in letters destined less for their recipients than for posterity, has in a curious fashion found her niche. She was a gifted but difficult person, introspective and acidulous. Only as a picture of such a person in almost incredibly unpleasant circumstances in the early nineteenth century can this be considered as a contribution to history. How little the outside world meant to her is evidenced by the fact that the only reference to Napoleon in these eventful years is the comment, "Miss Chorley! you are to this house what Buonaparte is to Europe—a scourge".

Yet with all their differences from each other, these volumes are alike in illustrating the difficulty of writing "social" history. For the history of human society is composed of so many and so infinitely different materials, so many individuals doing so many different things simultaneously and wholly independently, that it is difficult to make such generalizations as are, perhaps, too common in political history. If and when a genius appears, able to find a common denominator amid all this mass of detail, to discover a clue—if there be one—to the infinity of individual activities whence is drawn the "history" of society, such volumes as these will provide materials for that Protean study.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk. By NAOMI RICHES, Associate Professor of History, Goucher College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 194. \$2.00.)

DR. Riches provides us with a careful and readable study of the rise of capitalistic agriculture in England. She is somewhat more interested in the technique of production than in the buying of supplies and labor or the selling of the grain and livestock. She has made exhaustive research in secondary and primary material both at home and abroad, has come to know the soil, the people, and the buildings of Norfolk, and has made effective use of the evidence collected.

The priority of Norfolk in the agricultural revolution is clearly set forth, as are the soil conditions and land tenure in the county. A chapter is devoted to the high prosperity of the farmers and landlords and the distress of the laborers. And the county itself—after teaching England how to farm—lost in the race to other counties with a greater endowment of fertility.

Dr. Riches is careful to point out that we should not confuse Tull's horse-hoeing husbandry with the crop rotation practiced by the leaders and popularized by Arthur Young. It is this crop rotation which characterizes the Norfolk System. She dwells at length on the factors which gave to Norfolk such remarkable leadership. Why did a county with a thin soil and inhospitable climate show to England and to the world the way to successful agriculture? She quotes a medieval poetic description of the county summarized as follows:

"Satan on the road to Hell
Ruined Norfolk as he fell."

Well, how did Norfolk redeem its past? The author is at great pains to answer this question. In the first place, Norfolk had no rigid three-field system of husbandry to overcome. Secondly, it had the inspiring influence of immigrants from Holland and Flanders—lands where agriculture was

nothing if not progressive. Thirdly, there was a local and metropolitan market available for the chief products. Fourthly, Norfolk had the good fortune to possess outstanding leaders in agriculture. Fifthly, there was a growing demand for one of its chief products—wheat—as England's population increased and its people became industrialized.

A revolution was occurring in eighteenth century agricultural management. We should like to know more about the motives and other drives of the leaders. Their very words would be pertinent. Their experiments in the technique of production are clear enough. Not so much is known about controls and co-ordination of jobs. That capital was invested in the new husbandry is obvious. We should like to know more about this. The author indicates that there was little investment in machinery, and therein she points to a contrast with the contemporary Industrial Revolution.

Harvard University.

N. S. B. GRAS.

Defoe. By JAMES SUTHERLAND. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 300. \$3.50.)

Jonathan Swift. By BERTRAM NEWMAN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. Pp. 432. \$3.50.)

Few great literary figures of the early eighteenth century have in recent years received more attention than Defoe and Swift. Two men more unlike could scarcely be imagined, yet both possessed genius as political journalists. Swift is probably the outstanding British satirist, and no one of his time could approach Defoe in forcefulness of homely narrative. Each of them proved invaluable to political leaders, and it would be exceedingly difficult to decide which was the more indispensable.

Defoe's political services covered a much longer period, and were far more varied in character than Swift's. He started as a champion of William III; three years later he was Harley's secret service agent; for two and a half years he was the trusted henchman of Godolphin; then he returned as Harley's servant, only to go over to the Whigs for a half dozen years at the death of Anne, before turning to the romances with which his name is most frequently associated. Swift's political career in England was much shorter, a matter of only four years, in which he served the Tory ministry. His work upon the *Examiner* was noteworthy, but his *Conduct of the Allies* was probably the most influential political tract ever written in England and was largely responsible for the approval of the Treaty of Utrecht by parliament. Both men served Harley with great fidelity, and both were rather shabbily treated by him, at least in a financial way. Yet both men insisted upon remaining loyal to their patron in his days of disgrace.

Mr. Newman's account of Swift's early life and his later years in Ireland is very well done. His treatment of Swift's relations to Stella and Vanessa is both sensible and impartial. *Gulliver's Travels* and the *Drapier's*

Letters are most satisfactorily discussed. At times the author's interpretation of Swift tends towards the Freudian, although he insists that Swift was neither a syphilitic nor a misanthrope. He is probably correct in assuming that Swift suffered from Ménière's disease, but he may overemphasize its influence upon Swift's career. In his account Swift most certainly takes an unconscionable time dying.

Mr. Newman's biography is based largely upon the earlier biographies, the *Journal to Stella*, and the better known letters and pamphlets of Swift. Like its predecessors it is weakest on Swift's work as a political writer in England and reveals no profound understanding of the highly involved political intrigues of those critical years. Any satisfactory treatment of that part of Swift's life must be based upon a highly detailed knowledge of the political and literary history of the times. The scholarly studies on Addison and Steele now in train by Professors Blanchard, Bond, and Graham, as well as the recent works upon Pope and Dr. Arbuthnot, should materially assist not only in the proper interpretation of the literary careers of Swift and Defoe but in explaining the political policy of Oxford and Bolingbroke as well.

Professor Sutherland's biography is more scholarly than Mr. Newman's, and it seems quite as interesting. His judgments on Defoe's long and varied career seem to be impartial and eminently characterized by common sense. As a result, both his heroes, Defoe and Harley, are shown to have feet of clay. He demonstrates the modern trend of Defoe's economic theories. Defoe denied the existence of overproduction, frowned on national self-sufficiency, and insisted that "manufacturers must learn to regulate production and distribution" (p. 129). This work is exceptionally free from errors and is in general the most satisfying biography of Defoe that has yet appeared, although it betrays in places an ignorance of some relevant historical monographs.

One might take issue with Professor Sutherland in his treatment of a few topics. It is possible that he errs in attributing to Louis XIV a sincere desire for peace in 1709-10 and in accepting as accurate Defoe's estimate of two million Dissenters in England. The author does not seem to emphasize sufficiently the importance of the *Review* and the *Tour* as historical documents of the first order for the social and economic life of Great Britain. Perhaps the former was, in one sense, "a sort of coffee-house harangue on current affairs" rather than a newspaper, but its significance was very great.

In one respect both biographies are irritating to the scholar. The notes are tucked away at the end of the volumes, to the great inconvenience of those who may wish to consult them. Is this growing practice a concession to the printers or to the excessive cost of high grade printing or to both? Must we put up with it as a necessary evil?

Indiana University.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Lamoignon de Malesherbes, Defender and Reformer of the French Monarchy, 1721-1794. By JOHN M. S. ALLISON. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 177. \$2.50.)

MALESHERBES was one of those secondary figures whose lives and ideas probably throw more light on the temper of an age than do men of the very first rank. It is no doubt dangerous to assume that he is "typical" even of the *noblesse de robe*, to which he belonged; nevertheless he is probably a better example of how ordinary upper-class intellectuals of the France of Louis XVI felt about political and social problems than a genius like Voltaire or Rousseau would be. There was nothing of importance on Malesherbes in English and very little in French. All those interested in the last years of the old regime will therefore be grateful to Professor Allison for this brief biography. It is based on those Tocqueville manuscripts which have already served another Yale scholar, Professor Pierson, so well in his study of Tocqueville and Beaumont in America, and on a good deal of other unpublished materials. It is a clear and straightforward account of Malesherbes's life, emphasizing those points of major interest to us—his relations with the encyclopaedists and with the book trade in general, his activities in the *cour des aides*, his famous defense of Louis XVI—and in spite of its brevity, it manages to cite many interesting passages direct from Malesherbes. It will prove a useful introduction to a study of the man and his times.

But it is no more than an introduction. There is perhaps something ungrateful in a reviewer's asking of an author something he has not tried to do, but here at least there was an obvious opportunity to do a great deal more. In the first place, Professor Allison has not used footnotes, which, in view of his reliance on manuscript materials, is unfortunate. He has provided an excellent bibliographical appendix, and there can be no question of his accuracy and good faith. Nevertheless, for the scholar who would like to follow out some of the paths he opens up, the absence of specific references is inconvenient. Most of us have sinned in this matter, influenced perhaps by contemporary publishers' phobias about the general reader and his dislike of footnotes. It is time we reasserted the best traditions of the profession in regard to the necessary apparatus of scholarship.

More important is Professor Allison's failure to set Malesherbes in the framework of the social and intellectual history of the time. We get tantalizing glimpses, as when he quotes Malesherbes as writing, "I hate the Romans because they created the unhappiness of the world; I despise them because they did not know how to be happy, because they preferred a false, foolish, and cruel glory to a solid and lasting one". But on the whole Professor Allison sticks pretty closely to orthodox political biography. He could not have done much else within the physical limits he set himself. But his materials were evidently so rich that he might have done much

more, might have helped us to solve some of the real problems the old regime still offers—the class structure of the *noblesse de robe*, the influence of the intellectuals on the *esprit frondeur* so evident among the lawyers, the breakdown among the French ruling classes of the ability to rule, the extent to which the career open to talents existed in the last years of the old regime, as well as a number of more detailed and special problems, such as the exact position of men like Malesherbes on tax reform. This last would need a study not only of what Malesherbes thought about taxation—Professor Allison supplies that briefly—but also of just how taxation really worked. We are not asking for an acceptance of the royalist historians' position that the tax system was altogether just and efficient but simply for a recognition that the protests of the intellectuals against the system were probably not accurate descriptions of fact and for a careful and objective account of what facts can be ascertained. This Professor Allison has not given us. His study never gets beyond Malesherbes's own words, never tries to correlate his words and actions with a complex social reality.

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

Babeuf, 1760-1797, et la Conjuration des égaux. Par GÉRARD WALTER. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1937. Pp. 262. 25 fr.)

BABEUF, as M. Walter explains in his preface, has two claims to distinction. He was the leader of the last popular movement of the French Revolution—an attempted revolt against the Directory. And, more important, as this uprising was the first of the time to use the methods of direct action in order to put into effect principles definitely and basically socialistic, Babeuf has come to be regarded as the first modern socialist. His fame was due in part to the book by his disciple Buonarroti on the "Conjuration des égaux". This work helped to promote a cult of Babouvisme and became its gospel, and, furthered by the Revolution of 1848, by the founders of the first Internationale, and by successive generations of Marxists, a real legend developed. It is the purpose of M. Walter "to confront the image created by successive generations with the reality pure and simple".

Unlike other biographers of Babeuf, M. Walter takes it for granted that anyone interested in Babeuf will have some knowledge of the course of the French Revolution and of the development of socialistic ideas. He therefore concentrates on Babeuf himself. Beginning with his early life he shows how Babeuf, even before the Revolution, was dreaming dreams of a society based on perfect equality and meditating on ways of overthrowing the feudal regime and putting his Utopia into practice. From 1785 on he wrote and agitated and intrigued, and because of his excessive zeal and lack of discretion he was frequently in difficulties with friends as well as foes.

With Babeuf's career as editor of the *Tribun du Peuple*, the exponent of a really socialistic reform, M. Walter deals in more detail, especially

with the climax of that career when, taking advantage of the discontent and dislocation under the Directory, Babeuf attempted through the "Conjuration des égaux" to establish a state based on equality. That the Directory, through the treason of at least one of Babeuf's followers, was quite aware of what was going on is well proved, but just how far the government went in deliberately fomenting the conspiracy as an excuse for maintaining its own power M. Walter wisely does not attempt to determine. He agrees with other writers in his conviction that the Directory did not lose the opportunity to play up the danger from which the people had been saved.

Such a claim as M. Walter makes in his preface to present "the real facts" is enough to cause any wary reader to regard the book with a suspicious eye. But M. Walter has really achieved a high degree of objectivity, and while he admits the absurdity of some of Babeuf's performances and the utter impracticability both of his immediate goal and of the means by which he tried to attain it, he nevertheless recognizes his exalted ideals. "In times of revolution", he concludes, "as in ordinary times one has to do not with saints but with men."

The work contains a bibliography of Babeuf's own writings, of studies concerning him, and of portraits of Babeuf and of the five Directors.

Vassar College.

ELOISE ELLERY.

The First Fleet: The Record of the Foundation of Australia from its Conception to the Settlement at Sydney Cove. Compiled from the Original Documents in the Public Record Office, with Extracts from the Log-Books of H. M. S. *Sirius*, and an Introduction and Notes, by OWEN RUTTER. (London: Golden Cockerel Press. 1937. Pp. 149. 63s.)

The Foundation of Australia, 1786-1800: A Study in English Criminal Practice and Penal Colonisation in the Eighteenth Century. By ERIS O'BRIEN. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xiii, 432. \$5.00.)

Phillip of Australia: An Account of the Settlement at Sydney Cove, 1788-92. By M. BARNARD ELDERSHAW. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1938. Pp. 366. 15s.)

Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851. By R. B. MADGWICK. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 270. \$3.50.)

OF all the means devised for doing honor to the New South Wales sesquicentenary nothing could be finer in conception and in execution than the array of scholarly works detailing the history of the event commemorated and of associated subjects.

For inclusion in *The First Fleet* Mr. Rutter selected all the source material of prime importance that has come to light respecting the inception of the idea of British settlement on the eastern coast of Australia, free or penal, the preparations for the initial expedition, including the choice of a

leader, and the difficulties that confronted that leader, Governor Arthur Phillip, in the accomplishment of his unique undertaking. The material was obtained chiefly from the colonial office, treasury, and admiralty records and collated with the utmost care. A considerable portion of it now appears in print for the first time.

A point stressed by Mr. Rutter in his introduction and commented upon with varying emphasis by the authors of the other three books here reviewed is that genuine colonization was comprehended in the first suggestion ever offered for the following up of Captain Cook's rediscovery of the island continent, and it ought to be of no slight interest to Americans that the colonization so projected would have been a sort of aftermath of their own Revolution, the suggestion having been made by the son of a New York Loyalist and in behalf of Loyalists. This knowledge is not entirely new. Some eighteen years ago the late Professor George Arnold Wood of Sydney University gave utterance to it while endeavoring to give credit, where credit had been long since overdue, to James Matra, born in New York and possibly of Corsican ancestry, who, in the year of the peace, 1783, submitted to the undersecretary for home and plantation affairs an elaborately argued scheme for utilizing New South Wales as an asylum for American refugees. Calling for more immediate consideration by the government, however, was the disposal of the mounting numbers of convicts who crowded the "hulks", which, following the cessation of transportation to the Atlantic seaboard colonies with the Declaration of Independence, had been made to supplement the very inadequate jail accommodation. As events turned out, the place dreamed of for the Loyalists was converted to the uses of transportees, who, had not the rebellion of '76 terminated successfully, would probably have gone to America as had thousands before them. Thus the founding of Australia may be deemed an indirect result of the American Revolution.

The decision to create a penal settlement in the southern seas was not arrived at, however, in any short time. The plans and counterplans of the intervening years all come within the scope of Dr. O'Brien's volume, which is to be commended in its entirety and the more especially for its supremely excellent treatment of the social, economic, and legal background of Australian beginnings. It is, moreover, the most comprehensive work yet produced on what is called the "new" transportation system and the first complete one, since W. D. Forsyth's recent publication, excellent in its way also, deals only with Van Diemen's Land (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 812). Nowhere better than in the O'Brien treatise can one realize how great is the difference between the harsh penal legislation of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the Borstal system of our own day. The essential difference between the old and the new system of transportation is pointed out by Douglas Woodruff, who contributes an introductory note,

and may be deduced from the circumstance that the convict transported to the old plantation colonies, his term once served under indenture, was received forthright into the body politic, his criminal past of whatever degree forgotten or, at any rate, obscured. Labor was at a premium. And the distance was not so immense but that he might hope to return home if he wished to do so. Far otherwise was it with the convicts sent to Australia, a journey of many months. Transportation meant for them perpetual exile except in a few rare cases.

The choice of a comparatively unknown captain of the royal navy to be the founder and first administrator of the penal settlement in New South Wales proved to be an eminently wise and fortunate one, and the biography listed above is a fitting eulogy of what Phillip was and did. He threw himself heart and soul into the distasteful work. Among the many things he had insisted upon at the outset were two that mark his wide humanitarianism—no slavery and no exploitation of the aborigines. Terrible though life at Sydney Cove was, the British penal settlements in Australia, thanks partly to the foundation laid by Phillip, never became quite the “ultimate horror” that their French counterpart in South America was destined to be. Admittedly some credit for that belongs to British public opinion.

Dr. Madgwick, of the University of Sydney, does not deal with transportation but devotes himself exclusively to assisted emigration in the years designated. His book is a veritable mine of information, historical and statistical, and if the present reviewer regrets the absence from it of a larger treatment of Mrs. Caroline Chisholm’s courageous work, a broader grasp of contemporary Canadian development, and a fuller appreciation of what made the United States more attractive to the British poor than was Australia, she yet concedes it to be of great interest and worth.

A concluding word of praise is due to *The First Fleet*, which is in all respects a beautiful volume. Printed “on Arnold’s hand-made paper in Perpetua type”, it makes, with its illustrations, its facsimiles, and its well-selected contents, an output worthy of the object for which it was designed. From the viewpoint of research and historical scholarship generally, all these publications are first class.

Aberdeen, Washington.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL-HENDERSON.

Britain in Europe, 1789-1914: A Survey of Foreign Policy. By R. W. SETON-WATSON, Masaryk Professor of Central European History in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 716. \$9.00.)

AFTER a prologue which sketches formative tendencies Professor Seton-Watson gives an admirable account of British foreign policy in relation to continental Europe from 1815 to 1878. Relations with America and the Far East are for the most part necessarily excluded. Some five hundred pages

are devoted to these sixty odd years from Castlereagh to Disraeli, and they are distinguished by the great merits indicated below.

Only two hundred pages, however, are allotted to the crowded thirty-six years from the Congress of Berlin to the World War. This briefer treatment of the crucial years marking the change from splendid isolation to increasing Continental commitments is relatively thin and lacking in the critical attitude toward British policy shown in the earlier period. There is almost nothing, for instance, about the bungling delays and dog-in-the-manger attitude of Granville and Derby when approached by Bismarck in regard to Southwest Africa. The secret military and naval conversations with France, sanctioned by Sir Edward Grey, and the negotiations for an Anglo-Russian naval agreement in the spring of 1914 are only very briefly dealt with. As to the kaiser, "Salisbury never trusted William II, knowing him to be both false and unstable, and, despite his great lineage, in essence a cad and a bully". Sarajevo and the July crisis of 1914 are not included. For more adequate accounts of British policy of the prewar generation one must turn to books like Professor Langer's *Diplomacy of Imperialism* and Dr. Gooch's *Before the War*.

Among the great merits of the main part of the volume is its clarity and readability and the impression of unity and continuity which it gives. Diplomatic history is too often a rather dry stringing together of more or less disconnected diplomatic episodes. Professor Seton-Watson's narrative carries the reader along with unflagging interest because his foreign ministers, carrying on the British traditions, stand out as such distinct personalities. He skillfully weaves in with great frequency striking phrases or quotations from speeches or state papers which give freshness of flavor and yet in no way interrupt the smooth flow of the story. Numerous significant section headings help to keep clear the varying topics and make the reader feel that he is getting ahead with the subject.

Professor Seton-Watson's fine critical judgments, based on exhaustive study and long experience in observing the course of British policy in his own day, are another very valuable feature. We should like to quote his realistic dissection of Palmerston and shrewdly balanced judgments of other leading figures, but space forbids.

Finally, Professor Seton-Watson is always aware of the close interdependence between foreign and domestic policies. This is especially important in a country like England, where parliamentary exigencies and public opinion exert a strong control over foreign policy. He therefore gives due regard to party politics, cabinet changes, the press, and the personal influence of Queen Victoria, whom he regards very highly. He avoids the mistake of those who write of foreign policy as if it represented at any given moment the single and unified will of the nation, to be treated, as it were, *in vacuo*. Some critics may say, though the present

reviewer is not one of them, that he does not pay sufficient attention to economic factors. Though there were always sharp differences of opinion within the country, and often within the cabinet itself, as to foreign policy, he frequently suggests the essential continuity of British policy in spite of temporary changes. Lord John Russell's cautious observation in 1851 that the "traditionary policy of this country is not to bind the Crown and country by engagements, unless upon special cause shown arising out of the special circumstances of the day" makes one think of Sir Thomas Sanderson's similar statement later. With sharp internal cabinet divisions prior to the Crimean War, Lord Aberdeen was not strong enough "to insist upon warning Turkey that Britain would be no party to a war, while Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were not strong enough to warn the Tsar that in the event of war Britain would place herself on the Turkish side". Somewhat analogous was the inability of the British cabinet in 1914 to give a warning to either Germany or Russia. Professor Seton-Watson concludes, "if we consider the broad lines of British policy at the close of the Victorian era (and of the brief period of transition which followed it, from 1901 to 1914) we find that there has been surprisingly little change since the days of Napoleon".

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Genesis of Napoleonic Imperialism. By HAROLD C. DEUTSCH, Assistant Professor of History, University of Minnesota. [Harvard Historical Studies, published under the Direction of the Department of History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xxi, 460. \$4.50.)

It is a rare satisfaction to read so neatly and compactly written a volume as the one under review. Basing his study upon an exhaustive examination of archival (French and Austrian) and printed sources and upon most of the relevant secondary literature, Professor Deutsch gives what is undoubtedly the best and clearest account, at least in English, of the foreign policy of the Napoleonic government from the Treaty of Lunéville of February, 1801, to the overthrow of the Third Coalition after Austerlitz in December, 1805.

It is his contention, and he proves it, that during the period of the consulate Napoleon did not deliberately seek war and armed strife in his relations with other sovereigns. Rather, he strove to increase the might of France by skillful diplomatic maneuvering and then was led, by opportunistically following the logic of events, to resort to a renewal of warfare in 1803 and 1805 in order to defend the extensive gains which comprised his "conquests in peace". The instrument of war always loomed as his final sanction, but he preferred the peaceful extension of power while consolidating the gains of the Revolution at home and abroad.

Only after the full consequences of the "battle of the three emperors" became evident did Napoleonic diplomacy fall from its heights. Not until

1806, with all Europe save England at his feet, did Napoleon begin generally to show less farsightedness as a statesman, his policies becoming more and more personal and less and less calculated to benefit the true interests of the French nation. Austria was humiliated and diplomatically alone; Russia was weakened and discredited; Prussia was content to play the role of vassal; but France had changed from a revolutionary republic fighting for its existence to an empire with dynastic ambitions. Now Napoleon began to overreach himself, little checked by a French nation which was proud to be ruled by a man who could issue commands to monarchs and who had raised France to heights of prestige which she had never before approached under her native rulers. Thus it was possible, eventually, "for Leipzig and Waterloo to destroy what Marengo and Austerlitz had established".

Within this framework Professor Deutsch makes a number of interesting points. He shows clearly how, during this period, Napoleon's political views were frequently modified or revised to meet new conditions—and usually to extract the greatest gains from them. Excellently portrayed, also, is the relation between Napoleon and Talleyrand—the alternating agreement and clash of their diplomatic views, particularly with respect to Austria, which the foreign minister consistently hoped to conciliate. The Napoleonic plan of a descent upon England, moreover, is demonstrated to have been entirely sincere and not at all a sham born of a desire to accumulate huge war stocks, especially artillery horses, and thus win a time advantage over Austria in a forthcoming conflict. It was probably only the naval disaster at Trafalgar, Professor Deutsch indicates, which led to the final abandonment of the invasion project. And then, with England secure from direct attack, Napoleon perforce had to "strike the innocent to reach the guilty". Great Britain had to be beaten; therefore "war on the Continent, up to August 1805 only an alternative, henceforth became a necessity". British diplomacy, incidentally, appears in a very unfavorable light in these years. Professor Deutsch maintains in convincing fashion that after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens British policy was both tricky and clumsy and that it was England who forced France again to take up arms after barely a twelvemonth of peace. Basically, the Anglo-French tug-of-war grew out of the circumstance that "the lordship on land has never been able to live in peace with the lordship of the sea".

The volume is enlivened throughout with interesting, sometimes pungent, character sketches of oft-mentioned but little-known diplomats, and the index is well arranged. The viewpoints of the work are refreshing, the revised interpretations are amply fortified by source references, and the style of writing is pleasing. Professor Deutsch's book really is "indispensable" to an understanding of European history in the nineteenth century.

Union College.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

Money Powers of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. By PAUL H. EMDEN. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 428. \$3.50.)

IN writing this book Mr. Emden has done the reading public both a service and a disservice. Certainly he may be commended for attempting to portray, to use his own words, "*what has happened* during approximately the last hundred and twenty years *in the world of high finance*", a subject but lightly touched as yet in historical research and practically unknown to the reading layman. In a narrative, often anecdotal style the activities of merchants, private bankers, and joint-stock bankers, domiciled in the leading cities of Europe, are paraded in rapid succession. Beginning with finance during the Napoleonic wars and ending with banking in Germany and Austria under National Socialism, the author manages to hit many of the high spots of national and international finance between the two periods. Men whose praises are seldom sung—men like Ouvrard, Joplin, Geach, Haber, Blount, Bontoux, Schaaffhausen, Bleichroeder, Lubbock, and Leaf—come to life and are given a high place in the development of modern capitalism. Emphasis is placed upon the interrelationship of politics and finance, upon bond issues and attendant problems, upon reorganization and amalgamation of firms and institutions, and upon the clash of ambitions and plans among the financial giants. Banking, under the pen of Mr. Emden, becomes dynamic and dramatic, which is as it should be when the changes of more than one hundred years are presented in brief compass.

A number of weaknesses, however, reduce the value of the book to the scholar. Its biographical and anecdotal treatment of men and institutions prevents a clear statement of the functional evolution of banking systems and also scrambles markedly even the chronological sequence of events. Have not changes in banking organization proceeded along functional lines? Did not farsighted businessmen effect those changes to take advantage of changing economic conditions? Why did joint-stock banks triumph over merchants and private bankers? How effectively was banking policy modified to conform to altered economic conditions? These are some of the questions to which an adequate answer cannot be found in the pages under review.

Other elements of incompleteness and inadequacy in this avowed portrait of "men and events" must also be mentioned. Commercial banking, characterized as it is by routine and relatively slight publicity, gets less than its just due. Commercial and financial crises, as a consequence of the author's biographical method, receive but little causal explanation and fail to appear in their proper international setting. Business policy throughout is interpreted largely in terms of personal ambition rather than in terms of specific ways and means of making profits under continually changing conditions of economic and political life.

Certain inaccuracies also lessen confidence in the author. To mention a few, Baring Brothers & Co. underwent reorganization in 1828, not in 1825, and their chief sphere of activity during the life of Thomas Baring was the United States, not the Mediterranean, Russia, and South America (p. 35). J. S. Morgan & Co. was a name adopted from that of the former junior partner in George Peabody & Co., not from that of the then young and relatively unimportant J. P. Morgan (p. 383). That information on merchants and private bankers is both small in amount and often unreliable in nature absolves the author of some blame, but such sources should always be subjected to criticism. Readers would have more confidence if they were offered at least occasional specific references to sources of information. In short, the book is a typical popular study, with the virtues and vices of that category of publication.

Wheaton College.

R. W. Hidy.

Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert. VON FRANZ SCHNABEL. Bände I-IV. (Freiburg im Breslau: Herder & Co.; St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1929; 1933; 1934; 1937. Pp. xi, 628; x, 414; ix, 500; xii, 617. \$5.50; \$3.90; \$4.50; \$5.50.)

It is one of the interesting manifestations of modern German historiography that despite the enormous development of historical research in Germany it has not as yet produced an adequate survey of the history of Germany in the nineteenth century. This was Treitschke's aim, but he never got beyond the 1840's. The problem is indeed a difficult one, for in the nineteenth century Germany passed through a series of developments which had taken several centuries in nations like England and France. Franz Schnabel is now writing such a history, and in the four volumes which have appeared we have the beginnings of a masterpiece of historical writing. It is historical synthesis of the first order, *Geistesgeschichte* without the nebulous pompousness which so often characterizes this type of German historical writing and an example of the "new history" which our American exponents of this idea may well take as a model.

Schnabel's attention is never focused on the past alone. In a most effective way he accomplishes the difficult but necessary task of the historian, to look simultaneously at the past and the present. His purpose is not to "present portraits of epochs and cultures but rather to understand the present through its history and to comprehend life from its development". It is for this reason that there is so much in these volumes that is not only good history of the past but also brilliant illumination of the present. Schnabel also very definitely aims at synthesis of understanding more than at originality of research. He confesses that he was much more concerned with reinterpreting and organizing the presentation of well-known sources than with "chasing around the archives for unpublished sources which

might be only of casual worth for my theme". Nor does he seek to be always strikingly novel. With wisdom he quotes the dictum of Treitschke: "If the historian wants always to be new then by necessity he becomes untrue." Nevertheless the work is marked by a freshness in point-of-view, and this, combined with a beauty of presentation, makes good the author's desire that this be not "a reference book for specialists" but "a book which is to be read".

All of the four volumes under review are concerned with the period before 1848. The first volume presents a long excursus on modern European history as a background for the position of Germany in Europe; then follows a beautiful treatment of the classical humanistic tradition and romanticism, and finally the turn from cosmopolitanism to political nationalism with the regeneration of Prussia and the wars of liberation. Brilliant pen portraits of Herder, Kant, Stein, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Goethe shine through the treatment of these movements.

The second volume is concerned with the political structure of Germany in the *vormärz* period. It treats of the conservative and reactionary system of Metternich, the national and constitutional movements, the *Burschenschaften*, and the various movements for reform. Of outstanding importance is the analysis of German liberalism and the way in which it is linked up with the rising bourgeoisie and the development of technology, science, and the new economic system. But liberalism never triumphed in Germany, and the realization of the *Rechtsstaat*, which was "the great historical achievement of liberalism", was never effected there. "It has become of decisive significance for the history of Europe and of Germany", says Schnabel, "that the Germans never succeeded in attaining what the Italians and Czechs did attain. Not one of the great leaders of German liberalism became a German Cavour or a German Masaryk. The state of the Hohenzollerns proved itself stronger than the houses of Savoy and Habsburg" (p. 214).

The theme of the third volume is the turn from classical humanism to realistic philosophy and politics and from romanticism to the machine age. It treats of the development of the new historical and political sciences and the new technology. The philosophy of Hegel personifies this trend in German political thought, and Schnabel devotes a powerful chapter to Hegel and his influence in the development of the idea of *Macht* and of historical and moral relativism. With Hegel the state became an end in itself, the *raison d'état* supplanted all other rights, "all individual ethics is rejected, Christianity and Kant negated alike, and religion elevated to become the handmaid of force" (p. 17). In his treatment of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in Germany Schnabel is more concerned with the spirit of industrial capitalism and its effect on the lives and thinking of men than he is with empirical and factual data of economic history. Here above all he reveals the deep influence of Max Weber.

The fourth volume is concerned with the religious forces at work in early nineteenth century Germany. It is divided into two parts, one devoted to Catholicism and the other, slightly longer, to Protestantism, and treats of the struggle of Catholics and Protestants against the increased secularization of life—their wrestling with the spirit of eighteenth century rationalism as well as with the absolutism of the state. Both Catholicism and Protestantism had to contend with an increased de-Christianization of the intellectual as well as the proletariat classes. Catholicism met this development by a greater concentration of its own forces, while Protestantism made a heroic effort to Christianize modern culture. This volume, however, does not give the same degree of satisfaction as the preceding volumes. The reason is perhaps to be sought in the problem of periodization. Like its predecessors, this volume is restricted to the *vormärz* period. But whereas the subject matter treated in the earlier volumes had a certain organic unity within the period studied or else achieved such unity by being related to the preceding century, the most interesting aspects of the religious questions discussed in this volume take form only during the middle and the latter part of the century.

A word of criticism might be added with respect to the bibliographical notes at the end of each volume. No attempt is made to provide an exhaustive bibliography, and one looks in vain for some guide to selection. The bibliographies appear more like haphazard and very meager assortments of references, which in most cases do not give due credit to previous studies that helped to supply the author with materials for his own text.

In conclusion, one feature of this work should be emphasized which under other circumstances could be taken for granted. In the bibliography of a popular recent study of German National Socialism by a reputable American author Schnabel's work is characterized as a Nazi book. It is decidedly not so, and it is important for scholars to realize that despite the co-ordination of German scholarship by the government, not all books published in Germany since 1933 are Nazi in their outlook. Scholars like Friedrich Meinecke and Schnabel go on their way in the best humanistic tradition of the old Germany. And it is right to say with Henri Lichtenberger that the "eternal German spirit" lives on under the brown shirt as it did under the military cloak of the Hohenzollerns. Professor Schnabel's numerous quotations from Marx and Heine, his objective treatment of the advent of the house of Rothschild, his characterization of Mendelssohn as "one of the most fruitful creators of religious music brought forth by the nineteenth century", and the constant references in his bibliographies to the works of non-Aryans are indications that he has not compromised with scholarly integrity and objectivity. One only hopes that Professor Schnabel will be able to carry his work to a successful conclusion despite the trying circumstances.

Queens College.

KOPPEL S. PINSON.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XLIV.—26

Wirtschaftszustände und Wirtschaftspolitik in Preussen, 1815-1825. Von WILHELM TREUE. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1937. Pp. 258. 12 M.)

THE author of this study draws his evidence from all the published works and from unpublished sources in the Prussian State Archives. The bulk of his materials come, not from writings of the economic groups concerned, but from monthly reports to the central government by the presidents of the *Regierungsbezirke*, who, he acknowledges, may have been biased, and from local histories by more or less amateur historians bent, he laments, upon showing the wonderful development of their beloved areas and the glories bestowed upon these areas by the mere fact of Hohenzollern rule.

The author has several theses. The main one is that the law of May 26, 1818, did not improve economic conditions in Prussia, that the depression continued in force throughout the entire country in practically every branch of economic activity. In defense of this thesis he amasses at length detailed evidence, province by province, city by city, town by town, industry by industry, year by year, for the period 1815-18; and in another chapter he does the same for the years 1818-25. The thesis is proved and reproved and proved again. Other subsidiary theses must be taken on faith: that the law of 1818 injured Prussian economy decidedly for years to come; that prosperity at the time depended upon a flourishing industry, not upon sound conditions in "commerce, consumption, and the public income".

In spite of the author's assertion that the law of 1818 was drawn up by liberal theorists more determined to uphold the ideals of Adam Smith than to understand and prescribe adequately for the needs of Prussian economy, the reviewer remains unconvinced. Carl Brinckmann's conception of these men as combining idealism and practicality holds its ground. The author condemns that law as allowing Prussian industry to be handicapped, not to say crushed, by the influx of foreign goods, primarily from England; but he derives his evidence from reports by interested parties about the few industries which suffered from the competition. He maintains that the government should have assisted industry by tariffs as high at least as those of other European countries and by direct subsidies, etc., and that it should have given equal weight to power policy and economic policy. This is a theoretical as well as a practical matter, and since the author renounces at the start any theoretical interest, he handicaps himself severely. By wishing to make this a factual study he oversimplifies all the problems involved and produces a half-baked book.

American University.

E. N. ANDERSON.

Victorian Panorama: A Survey of Life and Fashion from Contemporary Photographs. With a Commentary by PETER QUENNEL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. viii, 120. \$3.00.)

Locomotion in Victorian London. By G. A. SEKON. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 211. \$5.00.)

THESE two volumes stand in marked contrast with each other. Peter Quennell, author of works on Baudelaire and Byron, describes Victorian England with verve and gusto. G. A. Sekon, former editor of railway magazines, gives a meticulous and prosaic account of how Victorian Londoners got from where they were to where they wished to be.

Mr. Quennell has published a collection of 154 choice photographs illustrating the life of all classes and types. Some of the earlier examples, especially those by Octavius Hill, are surprisingly effective works of art, but for the scholar their chief merit lies in the realism and genuineness which they lend to the England of a century ago. They make new and live human beings of the Victorians—Lord Brougham, Spurgeon, Disraeli, the soldiers, and others. The excruciatingly comic picture of General Sir Hope Grant is a revelation in itself.

The only serious criticism that can be leveled at the photographs is that there are far too few of them. Unfortunately Mr. Quennell has felt it necessary to accompany them by a considerable commentary. The text is interesting and even accomplished in its style, but its substance only reveals the danger of generalizations about the period. The photographs and even some of the text which is inconsistent with the rest show that the Victorian age was in fact not "Victorian". It was nothing like so stuffy and artificial as some of the author's pat remarks would lead us to think. The fact is that he has not always been as objective as he might be. Women's costumes, for example, he explains as reflecting "the Romantic attitude towards helpless and unprotected womanhood". This may be true, but it remains to be proved, and some might incline to an explanation arising out of the growth of middle-class wealth and the increasing variety of ever cheaper fabrics.

Mr. Sekon has written a highly informational account of London traffic and its development. Not only is the reader initiated into the great variety of means of transportation in London—walking, buses, steamboats, cabs, trams, cycles, steam railways, and tubes—but the services are so minutely described that a careful reader, supposing that he could make the chronological journey back to 1850, would be an adept at making his way about in the London of that day. Soapey Sponge would have delighted in this work as a change of diet from his favorite book of cab fares. The impression left is that of an astonishing mobility, whether on foot or on wheels. By 1901 more than six hundred buses were passing Hyde Park Corner every hour.

In a few places Mr. Sekon has been a little overwhelmed by the plenitude of his information, and this fact may account for his confusion regarding the statutory requirement of cheap trains. In one place an extension of the North London Railway in 1861 is described as "the beginning of compulsory workmen's trains at nominal fares" (p. 17), and in another place

(p. 172) these are attributed to an extension of the London, Dover, and Chatham. Nor is it altogether clear why these instances should be distinguished from the well-known requirements of the Cheap Trains Act of 1844 (discussed on p. 139). But these criticisms are of minor importance when put beside the substantial contribution which the book makes to our understanding of life in Victorian England.

Brown University.

CHESTER KIRBY.

Victoria's Guardian Angel: A Study of Baron Stockmar. By PIERRE CRABITÈS. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 289. \$3.00.)

DOUBTLESS because he was German-born, Baron Stockmar does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Yet from the time Prince Leopold married Princess Charlotte until a few years before Prince Albert's untimely death, the baron exercised a considerable, though not easily measurable influence on the policy of the English royal family. The most detailed account of his doings is to be found in the *Denkwürdigkeiten*, prepared by his elder son, Baron Ernst von Stockmar, from his father's diary and correspondence, and published, together with a brief biographical sketch, in 1872. In 1873 an English translation by "G.A.M." appeared in two volumes, entitled *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar* and edited by F. Max Müller. Readers have shared the editor's disappointment that the *Memoirs* are not more revealing. In the words of the son: "My father was content to remain always half-hidden before the eyes of posterity. Faithful to his spirit, this book lifts the veil but a little." The *Denkwürdigkeiten* and the *Memoirs* are naturally the chief source for Professor Crabitès's work, which is written in popular form for the general reader. Two brief estimates published in 1863, at the time of the baron's death, by Gustave Freytag (*Christian Frederick, Baron von Stockmar, Grenzboten*, no. 31 of 1863) and Friedrich Karl Meyer (*Preuss. Jahrbucher*, 1863) are not mentioned by him. However, he has made use of the available English materials, such as the *Creevey Papers*, *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria*, *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, Grey's *Early Years of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, and the condensed edition of the *Greville Diary* by P. W. Wilson, which includes some hitherto suppressed passages. The recently published complete edition of Greville appeared too late to be used. Naturally he is familiar with the Benson and Strachey biographies of Queen Victoria.

While Mr. Benson, though acknowledging the baron's fine character and abilities and admitting his services in recommending a scheme which led to a salutary elimination of waste and confusion in the administration of the royal household, is inclined to minimize his influence in determining larger questions of political policy, Professor Crabitès is an advocate of the older and generally accepted view. In the opinion of the reviewer he is more nearly correct than Mr. Benson in his attitude toward Lord Mel-

bourne's correspondence with the queen after he had ceased to be prime minister. On the other hand, it is obviously a mistake to assert that a memorandum of Stockmar's, which the author dates March 12, 1852, was the basis of the celebrated note which the queen sent to Palmerston on August 12, 1850! Incidentally there are no indications from the page references—and there is no bibliography—that the author made any use of Bell's recent standard *Life of Palmerston*.

A few other points call for comment. In at least one instance, when the baron declined to take any professional part in Princess Charlotte's confinement, the author indulges in conjecture where the *Memoirs* are explicit (p. 7). There could not have been a "new queen", presumably Adelaide, in 1827 (p. 18). Without saying that Stockmar may have been deceived in Leopold, Professor Crabitès shows a great antipathy to the king, to whom the baron was so greatly attached. While in general not contesting the views of previous writers, he takes occasion to differ at least once from Lord Esher (p. 65). Very circumspectly Professor Crabitès has nothing to say regarding the rumor, recently revived on unsubstantiated evidence, questioning the legitimacy of Albert's birth. On the whole, however, this is a sound, as well as an attractively written estimate of a commendable character of not a little historical importance.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Victorian Critics of Democracy: Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Stephen, Maine, Lecky. By BENJAMIN EVANS LIPPINCOTT. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 276. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Lippincott has written a book about six Victorian dissidents which is puzzling because in his preface and introduction and at intervals throughout his essays he makes sweeping assertions which are open to question and are often contradicted later in his detailed analysis. He starts off with two debatable assertions. "As the problems of democracy and capitalism are today essentially what they were in the Victorian age, the criticism of these intellectuals is as pertinent now as then" (p. 4). "In a fundamental way their criticism is more relevant today than when they wrote, for though their criticism could be ignored in the last century, it can be ignored today only at democracy's peril" (p. vii). Concerning individuals he makes such attributions of pre-eminence and uniqueness as that "Ruskin probed the economic and intellectual foundations of the industrial system that made possible the Victorian age with more acuteness than any writer in the century save Marx" (p. 2), that Fitzjames Stephen's case against democracy "was stronger than Carlyle's and is perhaps the strongest after Plato's" (p. 136), and that Arnold "analyzed the psychological and cultural effects of inequality more keenly than anyone else in the nineteenth century" (p. 96).

Naturally enough, difficulties begin when the author turns to consider

his subjects separately and to sum up his own conclusions, for he finds that on the whole his critics of democracy were inefficacious in their own times and that their criticism is irrelevant to the complex structure which democracy has made for itself today. As he says (p. 189), "the argument from the past is never conclusive", and these men wrote before the Parliament Act, before the social service state, before modern delegated legislative power and semi-autonomous agencies, and before cabinet dictatorship—developments which they could foresee vaguely at best. Lippincott sets up his critics and then knocks them down, individually and collectively. Part of the trouble is owing to the fact that he defines democracy only by diffused implication, and part that these men did not always aim their main batteries at democracy; they often attacked other phases of Victorian society. The chief difficulties and contradictions, however, emerge from the author's negative approach. The material of this book would have fallen more naturally into effective discourse if the writers had been examined positively as contributors to the authoritarian strain in the British governing class and to its reflection in the working of British institutions today. In this light these critics, whose ideas are systematically and fairly set forth (although there will be some disagreement about Arnold), fall in with historical development instead of flying off on tangents. They were earnest and intelligent, and Professor Lippincott's book is valuable as an explicit reminder of the moral sway of Carlyle and Ruskin and of Arnold's professional interest in education, and for its revaluations of such pessimistic conservatives as Stephen, Maine, and Lecky by a democrat of today.

Columbia University.

J. B. BREBNER.

Carlyle et la pensée latine. Par ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. [Études de littérature étrangère et comparée, Collection dirigée par Paul Hazard.] (Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1937. Pp. viii, 442. 60 fr.)

CARLYLE's obvious Germanic affiliations have diverted attention from his relations with Latin countries. Yet Mazzini, in claiming for him the merit of cosmopolitanism in a period of English isolation, could point to his *Voltaire* and his *Diderot*. He befriended exiles from France, notably Saint-Simonians, as well as Mazzini's Italian adherents. His reputation was made by a history of the French Revolution. But these claims to attention in Latin countries were counterbalanced by the non-Latin qualities of his mind and style. He was a Puritan, a humorist, an antirationalist; his Teutonic vocabulary and the disorder of his composition so offended classical taste that he was long considered untranslatable. Dr. Taylor's book has psychological interest in the tracing of the gradual subsidence of this antipathy before the originality of Carlyle's ideas and art.

Dr. Taylor follows Carlyle's fortunes up to the present time in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania, giving most attention to the two

former countries, since Carlyle's penetration into Portugal and Rumania has been slight and in Spain confined chiefly to distinguished intellectuals. The comparatively tardy industrialization of Latin countries delayed interest in his social writings, so that before 1848 the most significant fact to be recorded is the influence of Carlyle's historical method on Michelet, which Dr. Taylor establishes by adding to Aulard's case from internal evidence proof that the French historian had read Carlyle. The experiments in state interference in industry inaugurated by the Revolution of 1848 gave *Past and Present* and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* topical interest for French thinkers, which remained lively until Napoleon III shut off political discussion. A Carlyle revival was produced by the epoch-making study of Taine (originally five articles in the *Journal des débats* in 1860, incorporated in the second edition of his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* in 1864). Taine's positivism and classicism caused an overemphasis of the Germanic qualities of Carlyle's mind and style, but his enthusiasm for his historical and critical methods was contagious. The *Cromwell*, whose religious bias had hitherto antagonized French critics, Taine praised for its evocation of the spirit of the period it treats, which presented a new resource to historical writers. In literary criticism he also found Carlyle an innovator, who developed from the Germans the practice of seeking in a book "une théorie de l'homme et de la nature, en même temps qu'une peinture de sa race et de son milieu". The imprint of Carlyle is thus not only upon Taine's well-known formula of the time, the race, and the milieu, but also on his effort to graft an intuitive upon his inherited analytic method. Taine's influence was responsible for the first French translation of Carlyle, that of his *French Revolution* (1865-1867), and was operative on the Spanish translators of *Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1892) and of the *French Revolution* (the distinguished Miguel de Unamuno, in 1900-1902) and in making him known in Italy. The French translation of the *French Revolution* was in its turn the inspiration and, as Dr. Taylor shows, an important source of Carducci's important sonnet sequence, *Ça Ira*, written in 1882. The idealistic reaction against positivism in France after 1885 brought attention to a new facet of Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*. In the cosmopolitanism of the early twentieth century most of his works were accessible in French and enjoyed considerable popularity. The balanced and sympathetic study of his life and writings by Louis Cazamian in 1913 converged with the best British opinion.

The World War had decisive and contradictory effects upon Latin opinion. In France it effectively alienated readers from the panegyrist of Frederick the Great; in Spain he retained favor with both monarchists and republicans; and in Italy he came for the first time into general popularity. In the troubled period preceding the march on Rome appeared three books of extracts from Carlyle's works, one with an introduction stressing

the appositeness of his social doctrine to the Italian situation. Since the fascist revolution many writers have pointed out anticipations in *Past and Present* and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* of the constitution of the totalitarian state. A translation of *Heroes and Hero-Worship* reached its tenth edition in 1933, when a special edition was made for secondary schools. General Italian interest in Carlyle was steadily rising until 1935, when Dr. Taylor believes it probably suffered a setback from the Anglophobia consequent on the Abyssinian crisis.

Dr. Taylor brings to the present work experience acquired in the preparation of his *Carlyle: Sa première fortune littéraire en France* (Paris, 1929), which concluded in 1865. He has thrown a wide net of investigation, summarizing and weighing critical opinion in periodicals, books, and correspondence, examining the quality of translations and indicating where possible their diffusion, estimating influences, supplying social, intellectual, and biographical background, and permitting himself certain interpretative comments, such as the surmise that Carlyle might find some dictators of the present day mere "Copper Captains", as he denominated Napoleon III. The bibliography is well arranged, and the notes are full; the index, however, is limited to proper names. Frequent summaries and the plotting of the curve of Carlyle's reputation in the introduction as well as in the conclusion facilitate use for reference.

Columbia University.

EMERY NEFF.

Michael Bakunin. By E. H. CARR. [Studies in Modern History, General Editor, L. B. Namier.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. x, 501. \$6.50.)

THIS book answers a need that has been keenly felt by all those interested either in the history of West European socialism or in the Russian revolutionary movement. The manuscript biography of Bakunin by Max Nettlau has remained not easily available to most students, and besides it is now almost forty years old. The four-volume work of Iu. Steklov has not been translated into Western languages, and anyhow its value is seriously impaired by the author's strong partisan bias. A life of Bakunin by another Soviet writer, V. Polonski, has remained unfinished, while the fairly recent French book by Helen Izvolski is nothing more than an attractively written biographical essay.

In his attempt to produce a full-size critical biography of Bakunin Professor Carr has been able to make use of all the new documentary material published since the beginning of the present century, more particularly since the Russian Revolution, and in addition he has consulted some unpublished material in the archives of Dresden and Prague. To the performance of his task he has brought a familiarity with the Russian scene of the period (he is the author of a life of Dostoevski and of a book

on Herzen and his friends) and outstanding literary gifts. The result is the best biography of Bakunin so far available.

The book, however, is not an even performance. Bakunin the man has been given a competent and sympathetic treatment. From the days of his turbulent youth to the last years of a rather pathetic decline Bakunin lives on the pages of this biography, with all the eccentricities and contradictions of his amazing nature. I find myself in complete agreement with Mr. Carr's reading of his character. "The call of revolution was in his blood, as some men feel the call of sea or hills." This is very well said, and, I believe, it is profoundly true. The biographer displays great psychological acumen in his discussion of the motives which prompted Bakunin to write his famous and puzzling *Confession*, sent to Nicholas I from the Peter-and-Paul fortress (pp. 210-14). In my opinion, Mr. Carr certainly has succeeded in producing a convincing and skillfully drawn picture of his hero.

On the other hand, not all the phases of Bakunin's political activity have been treated equally well. In spite of the criticism by Dr. Nettlau, who, in his review of Professor Carr's book (published in several numbers of the London periodical *Spain and the World*, beginning with January, 1938) has pointed out a number of minor inaccuracies, I consider the part of the book dealing with Bakunin's activities in the International and his struggle with Marx as being on the whole quite adequate. Here the author had the advantage of a nonpartisan approach equally removed from both anarchist apologetics and Marxist vituperation. But one wishes that more than two pages were devoted to Bakunin's relations with Proudhon, who, as Mr. Carr himself admits, played a very important part in Bakunin's life. Likewise, his relations with Mazzini could be given a considerably ampler treatment (in the discussion of this subject I find no reference to Nello Rosselli's important monograph, *Mazzini e Bakounine*). Incidentally, it is certainly a mistake to assert that Bakunin was the first to advocate publicly the destruction of the Habsburg Empire (p. 175); the priority here belongs to Mazzini.

The chief fault I have to find with Mr. Carr is in connection with his interpretation of the conflict between Bakunin and Herzen (chapter 20). In common with many other writers, Mr. Carr emphasizes Herzen's "moderation" and "democratic liberalism" as opposed to Bakunin's uncompromising radicalism and predilection for revolutionary dictatorship. Such a view is based exclusively on the activities of Herzen during the *Bell* period, when for a few years he concentrated his attention on the problems of immediate reform in Russia. This, however, should not conceal the fact that both before and after the "constitutional interlude" Herzen preached an integral revolution not very different from that of Bakunin's dreams, and that his ideas on the part to be played in the coming Russian upheaval by the

peasantry and the intelligentsia were essentially the same as those of Bakunin. Also, contrary to Mr. Carr's assertion, Herzen began by offering Alexander II leadership in a social revolution in Russia, and it was only after he became thoroughly disillusioned with that sovereign that his thought turned to the idea of a constitutional limitation of Russian autocracy. And lastly, Herzen's break with the new generation of Russian revolutionaries was not as deep or as final as Mr. Carr makes it appear. Likewise, it is wrong to say of Lavrov of the 1870's that he was "a liberal rather than a revolutionary" (p. 453). Here again, behind the conflict of different temperaments and different tactical views, there was a fundamental agreement as to the aims and nature of the revolution to be achieved.

When all this is said, however, one still feels grateful to Mr. Carr for having given us an up-to-date, eminently readable, and on the whole well-balanced biography of Bakunin.

Harvard University.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan. By Lieut.-Colonel E. W. C. SANDES, late Principal, Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee, India. (Chatham: Institution of Royal Engineers. 1937. Pp. xxxii, 571.)

THE inveterate urge of the British military services to commemorate in print their epic deeds for the edification of future generations has produced during the last century and a half a distinct literature of its own. Of this type of writing Lieutenant-Colonel Sandes's tribute to the labors of the Royal Engineers in the valley of the Nile is a characteristic example. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of this work and its greatest value, for that matter, lie in the fact that much of the basic material for the book came not from the author's personal recollections, for Colonel Sandes did not serve in the Sudan, but from the official records of the service amplified largely by contributions from a number of officers yet living who participated in the events recorded. While the pulsations of national imperialistic enterprise are clearly discernible throughout the book, as in so many others of its general type, the principal shortcoming lies in the scrupulous avoidance of any attempt to define or describe the national purposes which supplied the basis for the activities of the sappers in this area of concern. Indeed, a number of the allusions to political and economic objectives which the conscientious author would have permitted himself have been carefully excised by his copy reader and official censor, General Sir Reginald Wingate (a principal figure, of course, in some of the events narrated), who confesses in a foreword that many of the most interesting items which he wishes might have been incorporated in the book "could not well be published at present—dealing as they do with . . . prominent personages, the political significance of certain events of historical importance, and the manner in which the respective governments concerned dealt with critical situations which arose

from time to time." The author, he adds, "has closely adhered to the limits I was obliged to impose on his pen".

Constrained thus to omit the very information which would give point and consistency to his story, the author has had hard shift to achieve any but a meaningless and sterile piece of work. That he has succeeded in producing a book of considerable interest and worth is due to his skill as a narrator and his setting forth of details of conquest and administration which—no moral being pointed—did not fall under the official ban. Much of the account is historically valuable, such as the story of the building of the Sudan military railway, "which may justly be classed as one of the most remarkable engineering feats of modern times", the reconstruction of the Nile Barrage, and the works and improvements carried out in the Sudan since the World War.

When the author ventures beyond the boundaries of his own sphere of technical competence, however, allowance must be made for his background and his loyalties. Apparently it did not occur to him to question those classic accounts—such as Lord Cromer's—which place the British occupation of Egypt and the Sudan in the best possible light. Thus, the Khedive Ismail remains an incompetent wastrel; General Gordon was "sacrificed" to Gladstone's idealistic program; the dervishes who killed British officers in line of duty were "murderers"; Colonel Marchand and his mission welcomed Kitchener's force at Fashoda as saviors. Kitchener himself is pictured as "a man of such outstanding personality and character that he is perhaps without counterpart in history".

Much of the book is good reading after the fashion of vigorous military narratives, especially of operations predestined to success. The account of the battle of Omdurman, in particular, is masterly. At all strategic points in the book the text is supplemented and clarified by the inclusion of numerous excellent maps, plans, drawings, and photographs.

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

England and the Maori Wars. By A. J. HARROP. (London: New Zealand News. 1937. Pp. 423. 15s.)

Dr. Harrop traces the history of the Maori wars in New Zealand, 1860-70, England's attitude toward them, and their effect on England's imperial policy and intra-imperial relations. The book is, however, not so much a history as a selection from documents. It consists mainly of excerpts from private and official correspondence, speeches in the British parliament, letters to and news reports and editorials in English and New Zealand newspapers, and colonial office minutes, drafts, and memoranda. As a collection of source materials, the book is of great value. Those who are interested in the numerous disputes between successive governors of New Zealand and their ministers, the officers in command of the imperial troops, and the

British colonial office will find a considerable amount of new material. The famous and perhaps generally overrated Sir George Grey, whose second term as governor of New Zealand extended from 1861 to 1868, is shown in a less and the officials at the colonial office in a more favorable light than some may have expected. By and large the evidence presented hardly supports the charge that the imperial government neglected New Zealand and acted precipitantly in withdrawing the garrison.

Dr. Harrop apparently inclines to the view that the policy of placing upon the colonies enjoying responsible government the duty of providing for their local defense was the result of the anti-imperial feeling which allegedly prevailed in England during the 1860's. Against this thesis may be set the fact that the withdrawal of the garrisons had been proposed by Earl Grey and had been advocated by other stanch imperialists such as Sir William Molesworth and E. G. Wakefield. It was not just economy, as asserted by Dr. Harrop (p. 409), but the simple fact that when the colonists in New Zealand had secured control over the public land they had acquired control over the means to provoke a Maori war. There was sound logic in the reasoning that those who caused the war should also bear its burden.

The book is hard to read, and in places the arguments of the author become too involved. He does not give sufficient prominence to the arguments of men like F. A. Weld, who urged their fellow colonists to adopt a policy of self-reliance. Nevertheless the material here presented for the first time will be welcomed by students of the history of the British Empire in the nineteenth century.

The University of Wisconsin.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Process of Change in the Ottoman Empire. By WILBUR W. WHITE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Western Reserve University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 314. \$3.50.)

THIS is a book written from the standpoint of political science rather than history and must be so considered. So vast a subject as the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire could not be properly treated by a historian in such small compass, for the causes of the several organic changes would necessitate intensive treatment, even as the changes themselves would require considerable exposition and analysis as well as broad interpretation. But in presenting such changes clearly, stressing their legal significance, and supplying enough links to make a coherent and readable narrative, the author has done an admirable piece of work. Such were apparently his objects, and he has attained them.

The reviewer has discovered few factual slips, for the study has obviously been prepared with great care; and while no excursion has been made into unpublished archival sources, the documentation is careful and usually adequate for the purpose. The inclusion of the regencies and the Arab states

shows the wide range of the subject treated; there would have been, however, some justification for treating more fully the vicissitudes of the Armenians. In respect to the empire in general, one is inclined to feel that in a study of this sort a little more attention might have been given to extraterritorial rights and judicial procedure as determined by the capitulations, for they were often a source of bickering, and the mere fact of an existing law, however significant, does not mean that it is respected. The peculiar status of the consuls in Serbia and the Danubian Principalities from 1856 to 1878 might also have attracted the political scientist. Since the signatory powers of the Treaty of Paris made themselves collectively the protectors of these vassal states, their consuls were expected to see that the vassal princes did not exceed their rights as such; and while their roles were of course less important than that of the resident general in Tunis at a later time, they nevertheless exercised much influence.

It has been shown and indeed emphasized by the author that most of the changes listed were the products of force. Yet a notable exception of recent date, the Convention of Montreux, allowing the remilitarization of the Straits, is historically interesting as raising the question: to what extent could some present-day dictators satisfy reasonable longings without resorting to threats and blackmail?

The University of Texas.

T. W. RIKER.

British War Missions to the United States, 1914-1918. By Colonel W. G. LYDDON. With a Foreword by the Late Marquis of Reading. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 233. \$4.00.)

THIS is a book of real importance to the student of the World War. It throws a very considerable light on a hitherto obscure phase of the war, *i.e.*, the business relations between the British government and the industries of the foremost industrial nation in the world both before and after April 6, 1917. The greater part of the book is composed of descriptive essays on each of the more than thirty missions which Colonel Lyddon lists. The author was himself a prominent figure in the inspection service from 1914 to 1919 and speaks with first-hand knowledge of the whole field.

Each of the missions described was charged with some specific duty in the purchasing of supplies for the British war effort. Without giving the actual arriving time of the first group, the author says it was "very soon after the Declaration of War" (p. 9), and from thence onward the number and scope of the missions increased rapidly. Some of the fields covered were aviation, finance, gas, leather, petroleum, remounts, shipping, tanks, and timber. The types of materials with which these British buyers were concerned ranged all the way from fine copper wire to huge locomotives.

The personnel of the missions included not only the visiting experts but also large American staffs. In many cases the American employees of

the missions "outnumbered the British staff by more than ten to one", and the "total American staffs of the Missions numbered several thousands" (p. 71). Out of this immense ramification of effort, says Colonel Lyddon, came an understanding and a mutual interest between Britain and the United States which were of "more real effect than any amount of so-called propaganda would have been" (p. 72).

Indeed—and this is the one defect the reviewer has noted in the book—the author goes out of his way to deny that there was any official British propaganda in the United States before April 6, 1917. On three separate occasions (pp. 15, 137, 185) he affirms that prior to American entrance into the war the British government neither undertook nor countenanced such propaganda work in America. This is a strange statement to make. Let Colonel Lyddon consult the files of *Who's Who* after 1922 for the sketches of Charles F. G. Masterman and Gilbert Parker; let him read the latter's article in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1918, or Ivor Nicholson's essay in *Cornhill Magazine* for May, 1931; or let him examine the record of the parliamentary debates for August 5, 1918. In all of these places, and in many other sources too, he will find abundant evidence that the British did not neglect official propaganda in America before 1917.

Lightened with many interesting anecdotes, furnished with six fine illustrations and a map of the United States, and provided with an excellent index, this volume ought not to be found only on professorial shelves. It might well be used as collateral reading in the halls of Congress.

Colby Junior College.

JAMES DUANE SQUIRES.

Transportation on the Western Front, 1914-1918. Compiled by Colonel A. M. HENNIKER. With Introduction by Brigadier-General Sir James E. Edmonds, Director, Historical Section (Military Branch). [History of the Great War, based on Official Documents, by Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1937. Pp. xxxiv, 531. Case of 14 Maps. \$5.50, including maps.)

THIS book is not for the casual reader in search of easy entertainment. Its subject is wanting in popular appeal, and its lack of the human touch will make it unattractive even to the serious-minded. Nevertheless, it is a valuable contribution to the literature of the World War, dealing as it does with the movement of troops and their supplies, too often lost sight of in the recordings of the more spectacular essentials of warfare—men and munitions. The historian willing to delve beneath its surface will find many facts that throw light on the swayings to and fro of the battle front, the suspension of hostilities, and decisions reached in the councils of state. To the military student aspiring to future leadership it will convey many teachings, omitted in the usual curriculum, which experience has shown are vital

to success in great campaigns. To those in high place, charged with preparations for national defense, it will reveal the need for a peacetime transportation organization adaptable without change to the exigencies of war.

In the twenty-four chapters of the book are told, in sober terms, how at first the British, with a dual organization and inadequate personnel, were totally unprepared for the effective movement of their army in France; how their shortcomings in these respects were, in the face of the enemy, remedied to some extent in the nick of time under a succession of single-headed organizations in which the militarized civilian experienced in transportation providentially came to play his part; and how in the end, approaching and after the armistice, their means of movement became utterly inadequate for their advance as the enemy retreated toward the Rhine. It is a moving tale in more senses than one, if the reader will look beneath the surface and see the internal conflict of personalities and classes within the army itself and the possibilities of failure to the cause had fate been less kindly where man failed. In this the British were not different from the French and Americans, whose attainment of success often hung in the balance where their transportation facilities fell short of meeting the demands.

A hint as to the drama played behind the scenes is conveyed in Colonel Henniker's comment (p. 195) that "from the outset therefore there was a strong undercurrent of feeling both at the War Office and overseas that the D.G.T. [from civil life] should have been subordinate to the Q.M.G.", despite the commander in chief's decision to the contrary. Even more plainly is this feeling betrayed in General Edmonds's introduction (pp. xxii-iii), where he strikes at the British army's civil aids over the heads of the Americans, saying: "The big business men involved the American Lines of Communication and Transportation service in such a muddle that General Harbord himself was sent by General Pershing to try and restore efficiency." Those acquainted with American history will know, of course, that this is untrue. General Harbord was sent to replace General Kernan, who was not "a big business man", and the "muddle", such as it was, came about in large part from the insistence by General Edmonds's own government that the American fighting men in huge numbers should be sent overseas without suitable provision for their transport on land, a policy which Winston Churchill in *The War Crisis* admits "in appearance was so improvident and even reckless" (II, 196-97). What is still more offensive to the spirit of truth which General Edmonds as director of the Historical Section (Military Branch) is supposed to serve, is his quotation of General Dawes's pronouncement in General Harbord's book, *The American Army in France* (p. 360), in criticism of civilians invited by General Pershing to assist him in France, without including a succeeding paragraph (pp. 361-62), in which General Harbord in eloquent terms himself testifies quite to the contrary of the wrongful impression given by General Edmonds. Per-

haps making the Americans a whipping boy is his way of attacking Lloyd George's criticisms of the British high command in France—hardly a proper means for cementing friendship between his country and ours.

Without in any manner detracting from the value of Colonel Henniker's admirable work, attention is called to its lack of a bibliography, its inadequate index, and the omission of important lines on its "Railway Map of France, 1914".

Ascutney, Vermont.

WILLIAM J. WILGUS.

Post-War German-Austrian Relations: The Anschluss Movement, 1918-1936. By M. MARGARET BALL, Wellesley College. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 304. \$4.00.)

Germany since 1918. By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Professor of Political Science at Williams College. [The Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 128. \$1.00.)

It is unfortunate that Dr. Ball's book was published just before the final act of the *Anschluss* movement; the "last scene" would have given it a better ending and a longer period of usefulness. This book is a systematic study of Austro-German relations between 1918 and 1936. It is based upon voluminous newspaper materials, government documents, and League of Nations papers. The author does not seem to have used the collections of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut in Stuttgart, but she has brought together an imposing bibliography, which appears to be quite complete. When a definitive account of the *Anschluss* movement is finally written, Dr. Ball's study will probably be the best *Wegweiser* to much of the evidence available in 1937. Students of contemporary Europe who have been in touch with the *Ausland-deutschtumfrage* will find little new either in fact or interpretation in this work, but it does provide a convenient, if at times uncritical, account of the important issues of the question and of their reflection in the politics of Europe.

We are well aware of the difficulty involved in handling the imponderables of public opinion, but this study often overburdens its readers with details of speeches, editorials, celebrations, etc., without presenting a sharp analysis of the forces which they represented in Austro-German politics. In dealing with the abortive Customs Union of 1931 the author dismisses in a footnote (p. 142) the possibility of French implication in the failure of the *Kreditanstalt* and fails to mention the fact that French gold policy may have had something to do with the subsequent failure of German banks. It may well be that the evidence will clear the French of any implication, but this moot question deserves some consideration. Dr. Ball also refuses to credit the charge that political considerations influenced the eight-seven decision of the World Court on the ground that a Cuban voted with the majority while a Belgian voted with the minority (p. 176). A

bare statement of the judge's nationality hardly seems sufficient evidence for this interpretation; surely no student of a five-four decision of the Supreme Court would present such facts as proof.

In the discussion of the situation after 1933 Dr. Ball carefully lists the twenty-five points of the Nazi party, but she does not point out clearly how the Nazi conception of citizenship and race has made the extension of the Nazi party beyond the Reich's frontiers a factor unique in the history of irredentism. This omission is strange in view of the fact that she has used much material which clearly illustrates the political implications of this point.

Professor Schuman's little volume was written to provide additional readings for university history courses, but its insight and clearness of style should give it a wider audience. Although the reader may be inclined to differ somewhat with the author's interpretation of the historical meaning and the probable future of the Nazi state, he will find in this volume a brief but highly intelligent analysis of the problems of postwar Germany.

Both of these volumes are well indexed, and both have appendixes which will aid the reader in understanding the problems.

University of Missouri.

JOHN B. WOLF.

The Plough and the Sword: Labor, Land, and Property in Fascist Italy.

By CARL T. SCHMIDT, Department of Economics, Columbia University.
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 197. \$2.50.)

A goodly portion of Italy's agricultural population consists of landless workers—wage laborers, tenants, and small holders. The struggle of the rural masses against poverty is not a fascist invention. For generations agricultural reform has been a subject of parliamentary debate.

Beginning in 1900, through organization and by use of the strike, the agricultural laborer and share tenant made considerable progress. By 1920 their lot was materially improved. Their victories, however, were short-lived. Property owners of all classes, urban and rural alike, flocked to the supernationalistic standards of fascism, enforced by terrorism. The year 1922 saw the beginning of the renewal of the reign of the landlord. Working-class resistance was eliminated. Fascism masqueraded in peasant garb. Agriculture was extolled. But action operated largely in the interests of the landlord.

The Battle of Grain, launched in 1925, was the government's first dramatic agricultural move. It did, in large measure, accomplish its purpose—national self-sufficiency in wheat. But the cost to the consumer in higher prices of breadstuffs was enormous. Agriculture is also paying the price through an impoverished livestock and a neglected fruitgrowing industry.

Land reclamation is another much publicized battle waged upon a national front. The real attack was begun in 1928 by the passage of the

"Mussolini Law", which contemplates the expenditure of 7,000,000,000 lire over a period of fourteen years. Roughly one third of this amount is to be advanced by landowners and the other two thirds by the government. Indications are that more projects have been initiated than can be completed within these limits. The author predicts much costly abandonment.

The agricultural laborer has not fared well under the corporate state. The length of his working day has increased. His wages—both money and real—have declined. The opportunity to work has been reduced. Landlordism is still in the saddle. Of the 4,200,000 farm households, 36 per cent are less than one hectare in size. Another 55 per cent range from one to ten hectares.

Mr. Schmidt paints no rosy picture of Italian agriculture. In his estimation the discipline of fascism is the discipline of poverty. The book is not an emotional tirade. The conclusions of the author are generously supported by figures, many of them from official sources.

University of Wisconsin.

ASHER HOBSON.

The Defence of the Empire. By NORMAN ANGELL. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. 245. \$2.00.)

The King, the Constitution, the Empire, and Foreign Affairs: Letters and Essays. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 194. \$3.00.)

SIR Norman Angell, in his arresting volume, sharply indicts British foreign policy in recent years and then makes suggestions of a way to prevent slipping "down the slope to chaos". Britain's unwillingness to stand for its interests made Manchuria, in the author's view, a preface to Abyssinia, and Abyssinia a preface to further encroachments on "strategic security". Nearly one half of the volume is concerned with this "retreat of Britain", but his seemingly imperialistic viewpoint is not held to be a defense of empire in the older meaning of that term, on the ground that the empire has ceased to be and has become "a loose alliance of practically independent states". Sir Norman is not in favor of the "transfer" solution in the matter of colonies, because "we are ceasing to own them ourselves and cannot well give up what we and the other Haves do not for the most part possess". A reader would naturally reply that there is here a confusion between dominions and colonies and that the territories most in question are surely still "owned" by the Haves. The argument seems a playing with terms.

The author's proposal for a way out of the impending chaos is provision for defense, based on a "Grand Alliance" where "an attack on one is an attack on all". Membership in this renamed League—he believes there is virtue in a new name—would be open to all on equal terms, with "equality of access for all nations to the Colonial territories of the world". He feels

that the Have-Not states should accept a suggestion that does not deny them "any rights", and that they will, at the same time, "respect our needs and rights and the security of the British Empire". One concludes the reading of this closely argued case with the discouraged feeling that such a proposal is an illusion in the present temper of the great states. The old imperialism is yet so much of a reality both to the Haves and the Have-Nots that one naturally wonders whether the author himself, in view of the historical background, believes that his suggestion is workable.

Professor Keith's approach is much more that of the constitutional lawyer, the letters and essays treating a considerable variety of subjects related to British foreign policy and interimperial concerns. Like Sir Norman Angell, he is critical of the Conservative government, but with an especial animus against Stanley Baldwin for aggrandizing power as prime minister. And he is concerned lest the abdication crisis may have grave effects on the unity of the crown. Professor Keith, as would be expected, is much perturbed over possible imperial disintegration: the extremist tendencies of Eire and the Union of South Africa, based on the vagueness of the Statute of Westminster, are not approved. He is especially condemnatory of Herzog in his effort to further the doctrine of the separate crowns rather than the indivisible crown. So opposed is Professor Keith to this idea and its implications for imperial citizenship that he declares that the position of the Union "is now really assimilated to that of Hanover before the separation of the crowns".

In the matter of foreign relations the two volumes have somewhat the same viewpoint on the happenings in the Mediterranean. Professor Keith decries negotiations with Italy because of the "consistent faithlessness of that Power to treaties" but goes further than Sir Norman Angell in the matter of the German colonies by suggesting their return "subject to conditions of demilitarization". Professor Keith's letters and essays, sketchy though they be, are more realistic than Sir Norman's proposals. Both volumes are highly individual and courageously consider problems in world and imperial affairs where solution is still to be sought.

Oberlin College.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

The Northern Countries in World Economy. Published by the Delegations for the Promotion of Economic Cooperation between the Northern Countries. (Helsinki: Otava Publishing Company. 1937. Pp. 237.)

THIS is a valuable addition to the literature in English dealing with Scandinavia. An editorial committee was placed in charge of the study, but the major part of the work appears to have been performed by Professor Bruno Suviranta of the Helsinki Technological Institute, who has served for many years as economist of the Bank of Finland. The fourteen chapters of the book contain an exceptionally informative treatment of Norway,

Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, and Iceland also, in their economic relations not only with the outside world but with each other as well.

The brief opening chapter contains, in addition to a historical summary, the best brief statement that has come to my notice of some of the common features of the Scandinavian culture pattern. Robust traditions of political democracy combined with a relatively highly developed degree of social equality and a high standard of education represent gains and achievements which, in being common to the four states, are of great importance. Conceptions of law likewise derive, in many respects, from a common source and have for a long time developed on similar lines. In recent years a good deal has been done to create uniformity of laws.

During the postwar years and especially in the course of the past decade the Scandinavian states have become increasingly conscious of the similarity of their interests in the foreign trade of the world. As exporters they are outdistanced only by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States; as importers they rank fifth, after Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France. To put the matter differently, Scandinavia is three times more important, as an exporter, than Russia, more than twice as important as Italy, and sells some 50 per cent more than Japan. As buyers, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland offer a market more important than the combined markets of Italy and Russia.

That the statesmen and men of business in Scandinavia should have come to see in these and related facts a basis for useful co-operation is perhaps natural, and since 1930 co-operation in the formulation of commercial policy toward the rest of the world has definitely passed from discussion to concrete policy making. The chapter on economic co-operation among the Scandinavian states deals with trends that might well become decisive in their future development. It is clearly brought out that for the time being, at least, this co-operation is viewed as a substantial aid in the recapture of economic prosperity. Its bases, as suggested in the study, deserve more than passing mention.

One of the gratifying features of this authoritative volume is its freedom from the childish, uncritically adulatory treatment which has marred several of the recent books in English on Scandinavia. The text is buttressed throughout by revealing graphs and statistical tables.

Columbia University.

JOHN H. WUORINEN.

Lafayette joins the American Army. By LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, The University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 364. \$3.00.)

In the second book of his great Lafayette series Professor Gottschalk has achieved a very impressive result. His thorough knowledge of sources has enabled him to write a continuous and uninterrupted description of

Lafayette's everyday life between June 13, 1777, and September 6, 1779. The way in which he has managed to gather this mass of material and sift it by the most enlightened processes is a model for all research historians. Bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter prove the soundness of his method.

His book is really more than a history of Lafayette—it is Lafayette himself: every other line is a quotation from Lafayette's letters and diary. The great advantage of this is that it brings the reader into direct contact with the man; the drawback is that it puts all events on very much the same footing. I hope that Gottschalk will someday sum up his conclusions in another book. He shows us a Lafayette who is much more "officious" and much less "liberal" than Lafayette himself liked to appear. The great achievement of Gottschalk is to paint Lafayette as a gifted politician, even though he doesn't use the word (which I regret). I think that the main quality of Lafayette was the gift of pleasing people who were below him, and the rank and file of an assembly. But I don't agree with Gottschalk when he says that Lafayette, when he sailed for America, had only "a very elementary military training" (p. xi). The Fabius collection has confirmed my belief that from his boyhood Lafayette received a good general education and military training and that he was much less awkward than is often supposed. On the other hand it is very clear that before coming to America he didn't take the trouble to please everybody—or didn't know how to do it. I disagree with Gottschalk, too, when he says (p. 176): "In effecting that happy alliance along with Franklin, Vergennes and Beaumarchais, Lafayette was a chief agent". The real importance of Lafayette in French diplomacy as an agent comes after his first return to France in 1779. It was only when Dean had been disgraced, unjustly I think (contrary to Gottschalk's opinion, p. 16, n. 6), and when Franklin himself was in strained relations with Congress, that Lafayette became an important agent because, unlike Gérard, the first French minister to the United States, he had been successful in avoiding the antagonism of Congress. He became then the only French ambassador who was listened to by Congress and the only American diplomat whom Congress fully trusted in Europe. Those eventful months of 1777 and 1778 had made of him a politician, at the same time naïve and shrewd, imprudent and lucky—which he was to be for the rest of his life. This volume enables us to watch closely the process by which Lafayette built his popularity in Congress. I only regret that Gottschalk did not analyze the methods which the young hero used so successfully.

Collège de France.

B. FAÿ.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

Studies in Early Chinese Culture. First Series. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL, Assistant Professor of Chinese Literature and Institutions at the University of Chicago. [American Council of Learned Societies.] (Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1937. Pp. xxii, 266. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Creel is the author of *The Birth of China* (London, 1936, and New York, 1937), the first general presentation in English of ancient China in the light of recent excavation. That work has been well received and marks a turn from the classical to the archaeological treatment of Chinese antiquity. The present volume contains three papers covering parts of the same field in rigorous detail instead of in the popular terms of *The Birth of China*. The author wrote both while in China, near the end of some years' residence, with access to newly excavated materials and in contact with Chinese scholars such as the archaeologist Liang Ssü-yung and the epigraphist Tung Tso-pin. Many items of fact and opinion appear here in English for the first time. The three papers are the first of a large series intended to deal with pre-Confucian China and have to do with (1) Shang sources, (2) the Hsia, (3) the Shang. In passing, one may be allowed to express regret for the use, throughout, of the English plural for Chinese gentilics—the Hsias, Shangs, and Chous.

Archaeology has not as yet satisfactorily identified any remains of the Hsia. Professor Creel reviews (p. 127) and rightly doubts the theory which would associate the Hsia with the Yang Shao Neolithic in northwest China, a culture distinguished by fine painted pottery. The classic glory of Hsia belongs to legend rather than history, transmitted in documents that "could not have been written earlier than the Chou period". But, "while there was not a Hsia dynasty, in the traditional sense, there was a state by this name", and this state by inference "was the leading exponent of Chinese culture in its day" (p. 130).

Archaeology has found the Shang, however, and has placed the latter portion of the Shang period, from perhaps 1400 B.C., well within historical focus. The opening pages of the volume describe the excavations at Anyang in northern Honan. The inscriptions, in particular, which mostly have to do with royal divinations and are preserved because incised on the shell and bone employed as oracles, afford an amazing variety of information, even such basic matter as lists of former kings, these lists occurring in connection with divinations concerning ancestral sacrifices. The Shang bronzes are unexcelled by those of any other time or place. Of this paper on Shang sources, the larger part (pp. 21-93), more than a quarter of the volume, is mainly negative textual criticism, arguing that the parts of the canonical classics formerly regarded as Shang are not Shang documents. This contention accords with modern critical opinion.

Much of the new data, especially in the third paper, bears strikingly upon the extraordinary continuity of the Chinese race. There is the likelihood that the Peking Man is the direct ancestor of the Mongoloid group (p. 153). "North China has been inhabited chiefly by a very similar type of Mongoloid men from Neolithic times, if not even earlier, to the present" (p. 252). So, too, with the distinctiveness of Chinese culture: "even in the earliest Neolithic culture known in northeast China certain characteristic properties of Shang culture were present. Northeast China has apparently constituted a distinctive culture area from the earliest Neolithic times we know" (p. 253). Probable affinities in design with the Northwest Coast Indians of America are suggested (p. 249).

A fuller index would facilitate the use of the many items of new material which make these papers valuable to the Western student of Chinese antiquity. To the sinologist some of the arguments will seem dead issues. In general, however, the debunking of our conventional histories of ancient China is most welcome. The general historian or teacher of history may be wearied if not lost in the mazes of minutiae and the bypaths of inconclusive argument. For such, *The Birth of China*, in popular and more readable form, offers the same degree of authority as is meticulously evidenced in these papers.

New York University.

ROSWELL S. BRITTON.

Problems of Chinese Education. By VICTOR PURCELL. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company. 1936. Pp. viii, 261. 10s. 6d.)

THIS perspicacious study of the problems arising from the introduction of modern education into China, written by a British civil servant resident for some years in China and well-versed in its spoken and written language, is an important addition to the literature bearing on the whole field of the modernization of that country. The first two chapters give concise summaries of education under the *ancien régime* and the development of the modern educational system. They serve as an introduction to the main purpose of the study, which is to examine "the spirit animating the educational movement and the present cultural revolution in China" (p. 75). The remaining chapters deal with the aims of modern education, the language problem, Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People", which have been required reading in the schools since the Nationalists came to power in 1928, and general aspects of the present period. An appendix gives an analysis of representative textbooks under such headings as the treatment of war and of nationalism, religion, race, economics, and political questions.

The chapter on the language problem is the most original contribution of the book. The author's purpose here is to examine the Chinese language from the point of view of its ability to convey adequately and accurately to the Chinese mind Western philosophical, social, political, and scientific

terms and concepts. His conclusion, after analyzing the traditional Chinese meanings which lie back of the characters selected to express such modern terms as socialism, nationalism, capitalism, etc., is that "for the purpose of teaching Western ideas, especially Western scientific ideas, the best course would be to adopt a Western language as a medium" (p. 160). Many would disagree with the author's implied if not expressed conclusion that the Chinese language itself is not sufficiently flexible and adaptable to convey accurately Western terms and Western modes of thought. The completion in recent years of satisfactory standardized scientific terminologies for the major pure and physical sciences is an evidence of the potentiality for change inherent in the language.

The chapter on the *San Min Chu I* gives a good critical summary of the main ideas contained therein, but the author fails to give an adequate historical background setting forth their origin and development. His failure to bear in mind the historical setting has led him to accept Maurice William's erroneous assertion that Sun Yat-sen was once a communist and was later led to abandon that position through reading William's book on *The Social Interpretation of History*. Dr. Sun was first and foremost a nationalist, and his changing attitudes toward capitalism, socialism, and communism were dictated by the drift of political and intellectual currents which he sought to guide into the main stream of his life purpose, the achievement of Chinese unity and national independence.

These criticisms detract little from the value of this thought-provoking book. It is one which carries the reader to the heart and core of the problems confronting modern Chinese leaders.

Columbia University.

C. H. PEAKE.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Letters of John Davenport, Puritan Divine. Edited by ISABEL MACBEATH CALDER, Associate Professor of History in Wells College. [A Tercentenary Publication.] (New Haven: Published for the First Church of Christ in New Haven by the Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 301. \$3.00.)

Miss Calder's edition of Davenport's letters represents the first attempt at a comprehensive synthesis of the papers of New Haven's most important founder, though many of them have previously appeared in print. From the Public Record Office and the British Museum as well as from many American libraries, public and private, she has assembled this valuable collection edited with her usual unimpeachable scholarship.

The letters fall naturally into groups determined by different stages of Davenport's career. The early ones deal with his denial of Puritanism when

his enemies used the charge to prevent his appointment to the post of vicar of St. Stephen's, London. His defense—that jealousy of his popularity and success as curate of St. Lawrence, Jewry, had prompted the charge—apparently convinced Sir Edward Conway, secretary of state, to whom most of these letters were addressed, of his innocence, and he won the appointment. From this time on until his departure for America the letters reflect the most critical years of his life, when he himself finally became aware that he was not in sympathy with the orthodoxy of the state religion and decided to follow the path of other Puritans, first to the Netherlands and then to the New World, where he could work out his convictions and ideals in practical experiment. He did not find Boston, where he and his followers wintered in 1637, congenial, nor was he, though a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, satisfied to settle elsewhere within the bounds of its charter. Instead, he and his associates purchased from the Indians land on Long Island Sound, and thither they made their way in March, 1638. The period from the settlement of New Haven to the Restoration must have been the happiest and most interesting of Davenport's life, since he was working out the theocracy along lines of his own conceived religious utopia, but the letters covering that time reveal disappointingly little concerning either his ideas or his problems. They are practically all written to John Winthrop, jr., as physician and for the most part concern the illnesses of the pioneer community.

Letters of the 1660's and official documents which Miss Calder has wisely included tell the story of the fall of the New Haven theocracy. From the arrival of the first news of the Restoration Davenport was never again at ease. When it was reported that times were "as bad as in Queene Maries dayes" he feared a purge of American Puritanism as well. But worse anxiety was to come. He appears at first not to have been alarmed by the report that Connecticut had received a charter, but thought rather that it boded well for the other Puritan colonies. When Connecticut annexed several New Haven towns he became aware of the full import of the "covert" clause, by which the bounds of Connecticut were in the charter extended so as to include New Haven. To him, who disapproved of Connecticut's growing liberalism, the final absorption of New Haven into Connecticut was no union but a conquest won by trickery. After the destruction of the theocracy he had no desire to remain in New Haven. If he had been younger, he would have fared forth again to set up God's kingdom in the wilderness, but since he could not—he was too infirm for that—he accepted the call to the First Church at Boston where he was ordained in December, 1668. Even this move was accompanied by factional strife, in the midst of which he suddenly died in March, 1670.

Though the letters do not open up a great deal that is new concerning the chief events in the history of New Haven, they are nevertheless very

important because they set forth the personality and leadership of one of its two original founders and through him sketch the history of the New Haven theocracy. Students of New England history will find them valuable because of what they reveal of the social as well as the political and religious life of the colony. In addition, they are particularly appealing for their human qualities.

Mount Holyoke College.

VIOLA F. BARNES.

Archives of Maryland. Volume LIII, *Proceedings of the County Court of Charles County, 1658-1666, and Manor Court of St. Clement's Manor, 1659-1672*. Volume LIV, *Proceedings of the County Courts of Kent, 1648-1676, Talbot, 1662-1674, and Somerset, 1665-1668, Counties*. [Court Series 6 and 7.] J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor; LOUIS DOW SCISCO, Associate Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1936; 1937. Pp. lxvii, 657; xxxv, 816. \$3.00 each.)

STUDENTS of legal history now have available in published form a cross section of the judicial system of Maryland in the seventeenth century, running from the highest to the lowest courts and comprising the records of (1) the governor and council sitting as a court of appeals from 1695 (*American Legal Records*, Vol. I); (2) the provincial court or general law court of the province, 1637-66 (*Archives of Maryland*, Vols. IV, X, XLI, XLIX); (3) the court of chancery, 1669-79 (*ibid.*, Vol. LI); and, in the present volumes, (4) the records of four early county courts and (5) the only known extant manorial court record. Owing to the admirable enterprise of Messrs. Browne and Steiner and the present editors, Maryland joins Massachusetts as the only states to have achieved this end.

Of the eleven counties dating from the seventeenth century the four whose court proceedings have been selected for publication are those possessing the earliest known court records. Of these the fullest are the records of Charles County, whose court clerks showed the greatest knowledge of legal procedure. The Kent County clerks, on the other hand, were only semiliterate and poorly trained in the forms of the law. Of the four counties only Talbot has a complete separation of court minutes and county land records; the latter, however, have been omitted. It is to be regretted that the editors chose to sacrifice some of the later illuminating records of Somerset in favor of some fifty pages of livestock marks. It is also disappointing that brief notes on the disposition of cases on appeal to the provincial court could not have been included. These appeal records were easily accessible to the editors in manuscript.

Where, as in the present instances, inferior court records are supplemented by testimony or depositions, American social historians have at hand a most illuminating source for the study of the seventeenth century. The salty Anglo-Saxon testimony is sometimes revolting or sensational and

sometimes riotously funny, but it is always instructive as to the coarse manners of the day. Certainly it brings us far closer to the common man than do the writs of *assumpsit* and *ejectment*. It is in the record of the inferior courts that one is struck by the full significance of the colonial labor problem. The courts ruled on the terms and conditions of indenture, determined the ages of servants, and provided for payment of freedom dues. Manned by masters, they attempted in half-hearted fashion to curb the punishment which masters ruthlessly meted out to their help. In one instance a boy was so pitifully neglected by his master that the court declared that the "voyce of the People Crieth shame thereat" and gave him his freedom (LIII, 410). Harsh treatment on numerous occasions drove servants to suicide, and it is perhaps significant that no suicide of a freeman is recorded in these volumes. White servitude completely overshadows Negro slavery in these records; a case in 1671 (LIV, 520) involving litigation over slave importations perhaps marks the beginning of a trend from servitude to slavery.

Legal dicta are rarely to be found in county court records of this period, but certain clearly defined legal practices can be noted and occasional principles inferred. In Kent County a Puritan twist was given to the custom of England "that due respect be giuen to Maiestrates" for it was alleged to be "grounded upon the word of God" (LIV, 139). The system, still in vogue in Maryland, of giving the accused in criminal cases, even when capital punishment might be the penalty, the choice of trial by jury or trial before the court was in operation in that period. It is by no means unusual to find informal verdicts such as, in one instance, that "as it was a dronken buisnes the Charge shall bee equalie deuided" (LIII, 418). When the jury did "not find it valluable to Reach the law of fellony" concerning goods which servants took from a master, the court, although judging them not guilty, ordered them to return the goods (LIV, 213). Where a master literally beat his servant's brains out, the jury found that the cause of death was the "want of Looking after" the wounds (LIV, 391). Equitable relief was occasionally provided, as when the court ordered a bill of sale to be written in good ink instead of powder ink (LIII, 5). The courts clearly recognized the validity of postnuptial separation agreements and allowed a married woman to plead coverture in defense of a suit in which her husband was not joined with her (LIII, 14; LIV, 45). They refused to declare contracts made on Sunday invalid, apparently allowed an English statute relating to gambling debts to be pleaded (LIV, 499), and held that a Maryland statute limiting servants' time superseded a London indenture (LIV, 514). Impossibility excused the nonperformance of a bond (LIII, 281). In general, it may be said that informality in the choice of remedies was the rule rather than the exception; for example, trespass is brought by a servant to secure freedom from his indentures (LIII, 593).

To complete the cross section of the judicial system, the proceedings of

the court baron and leet of St. Clement's manor, the only manorial court record known to have survived, are reprinted in the first of these volumes. It is probable that, of the seventy-four manors granted, only a very few, St. Gabriel's among them, functioned with court leet and court baron, which is also true of the New York manors, a few of which are known to have held court before Leisler's time, although no records are extant. The uniqueness of these brief records compensates for the trivial character of the business recorded.

The College of the City of New York.

RICHARD B. MORRIS

William Penn: A Topical Biography. By WILLIAM I. HULL, Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History in Swarthmore College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xvi. 362. \$5.00.)

Eight First Biographies of William Penn in Seven Languages and Seven Lands. By WILLIAM I. HULL. [Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History.] (Swarthmore: the College. 1936. Pp. xviii. 136. \$2.00.)

It is pertinent at the outset to look at the biographical scheme which Dr. Hull set for himself. He defines the boundaries within which he depicts the life of William Penn. The approach is unique in both arrangement and proportion. The sequence of time in the unfolding of Penn's career is set aside in favor of a topical treatment. Thirty topics are selected, each a detached phase of life, embracing such items as boyhood, preacher, debater, author, prisoner, old age. This plan, Dr. Hull holds, permits unity, avoids repetition, and serves the reader's convenience. But it is fair to remark that repetition is not avoided, the unity and continuity of a colorful career is broken, and one is inclined to think that what was done for the reader's convenience will result in his confusion. Penn's life was woven of many strands of many colors, and to unravel the closely interlaced threads destroys the pattern.

Again, Dr. Hull denies equality of treatment to subjects of equal value. He decided that those parts of Penn's career already well known might be dismissed briefly to make way for a fuller discussion of neglected phases. The biography, therefore, lacks completeness. But a word may be said for this position. Many pages have been written about Penn as the leader of a "Holy Experiment" in America and all too few about him as a distinctive figure in England. Dr. Hull has done a service in presenting Penn's long and dramatic life upon the English stage, where he labored so hard and suffered so much for Quakerism, for religious toleration, and for the rights of Englishmen. The author has laid the ghost of Macaulay's unwarranted aspersions upon Penn and has confounded those who would call him a Jesuit and courtier in the days of James II and a Jacobite and traitor in the age of William III. The author places his subject in the currents of the time. He envisages Quakerism as an expanding force of which Penn was

so great a part and as a struggle for freedom of conscience in which Penn was so great a protagonist.

The study bears the marks of having been built up from the ground and wrought out of all sources at present available. The author brought to his task a deep understanding of Quakerism gained by a life of study in the field. Though well aware of Penn's limitations, he brings out fairly the greatness of the man and his crowning achievements. The book is somewhat lacking in literary craftsmanship. While readable, the style is a bit awkward here and there. One wishes that there were not so wide a sprinkling of such words as "doubtless", "probably", "it must have been". At times one feels a bit wearied under the weight of details and wishes that more stress had been laid upon the bearing and meaning of the evidence. Occasionally one runs upon a historical inaccuracy. The conquest of Jamaica did not lay the foundation of the British Empire in the Caribbean, and the statement that the Revolution of 1689 achieved religious liberty and parliamentary government needs qualification. Mention of faults of style and slips in statement should not, however, detract from the virtues of the biography. Among the many writers attracted to the dynamic personality of William Penn, Dr. Hull ranks high. His work is a valuable study and a welcome addition to historical literature.

The value of the *Eight First Biographies* written in various tongues and lands lies not so much in priority as in other respects. The book has the value of a critical biography. Here is set forth the nature and content of the biographies by Besse and Clarkson in England, Weems and Janney in America, Sewel in Holland, and the others, in French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and German. Its further value is in exhibiting the extent to which Penn's life and principles cast a widening influence. And finally, the volume presents a good illustration of "history as thought", of how men interpreted Penn and his ideas in the light of their own special times and predilections.

The State University of Iowa.

WINFRED T. ROOT.

Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania. By GUY SOULLIARD KLETT. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 297. \$3.00.)

WHEN the news of Penn's colonial experiment reached Europe it naturally attracted a number of those who were dissatisfied with their lot. A throng of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, impatient of restriction and desirous of a more prosperous situation than they had found in Ireland, heeded the call of the "Holy Experiment". They came in appreciable though uncounted numbers, particularly in the closing years of the second decade of the eighteenth century and thereafter. The colony was well established by this time, and the lands available to the newcomers were beyond the river counties. Their experience therefore was to be in large part on the frontier.

This study carefully traces the distribution of these Presbyterians and the establishment of their congregations, presbyteries, and synods down to the outbreak of the Revolution. The methods of church government and the regulation of the conduct of individuals and congregations by the churches themselves or their ruling bodies reflect customs and conditions on the frontier. The church members exhibited a moderate interest in charity and missionary activity, but their help was limited by a lack of means and by proverbial caution in money matters. The church displayed a significant respect for education and tried to secure an educated clergy. Politically the Presbyterians were often in conflict with the ruling Quakers, who failed to give the frontier adequate representation in the colonial government or to protect the outlying districts against the Indians. Love of liberty and dislike of control, however, led them to side with the Quakers in opposition to a move to take Pennsylvania from the proprietors and make it a royal colony. They were a force for democracy.

The author is a Presbyterian layman who has worked diligently in the extensive archives of that church. He has written a good history from the ecclesiastical point of view and at the same time made a substantial contribution to social history. He is free from the doctrinal prepossessions of certain church historians and sees the church as a part of an evolving community. He writes well and occasionally adds to the interest by apt quotation and by unconscious lapses into the idiom of the records which he has carefully studied. Although the author has by no means neglected an account of the Great Awakening, it is to be regretted that he did not feature it more; it is worth a chapter. This study could well serve as a model for a number of others describing conditions in other denominations and in other colonies.

University of Pennsylvania.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

Jean Jacques Burlamaqui: A Liberal Tradition in American Constitutionalism. By RAY FORREST HARVEY, Department of Government, Washington Square College, New York University. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 216. \$2.50.)

AMONG eighteenth century radicals Switzerland excited much admiration by her constitutional organization; quite naturally also her political theorists enjoyed considerable prestige. Of these the most outstanding was J. J. Burlamaqui, jurist and philosopher, whose specific contributions to the birth and growth of the United States are related in this volume. Protesting now and then too much for his hero's benefit (because after all there have been many political theorists since Plato), Mr. Harvey first outlines what he considers the fundamental doctrines and peculiar outlook of Burlamaqui and then devotes slightly more than half his space to the way in which that

philosopher influenced the climate of colonial opinion on the eve of the Revolution and during the infancy of our constitutional system.

He finds Burlamaqui siring the philosophy of the rising middle class, advancing beyond his theoretical predecessors, and contributing uniquely to political theory. At the same time he sees this "last of the great natural law philosophers" returning across the abyss of medievalism to the basic ideas of Plato and Aristotle through his identity of the natural and political man and his acceptance of the state as a natural institution. Moreover, because Burlamaqui found the binding force of law in its content rather than in its source, his concept of fundamental law went beyond nature to include a written constitution. Here, and in his concepts of popular sovereignty and the separation of powers, wherein he rather than Locke and Montesquieu, respectively, shaped the American doctrine, Burlamaqui established his claim to be considered a father of American constitutionalism. How his ideas spread among leaders of opinion forms the substance of some of Mr. Harvey's most valuable pages.

That this study fills a considerable gap in the history both of American constitutionalism and of political theory generally can scarcely be denied. Impregnated so freely with the doctrine that Locke, in justifying an English revolution, fathered the American Revolution, historians have often neglected the most patent evidence concerning the multiple parentage of American independence. Certainly the leading revolutionaries themselves were not unmindful of the contributions of other minds to ends for which they so earnestly and learnedly worked. In consequence, it is hoped that other studies may trace the influence of still more obscure thinkers who furnished ideas and support to the architects of the United States.

Coming after this study, however, others may well avoid some of its shortcomings. More background is desirable. Why, for instance, did Burlamaqui write, and why did he enunciate his particular theories? Better definition and integration of materials is desirable. The style shows too close proximity to the notes and is needlessly repetitious in that sentences are virtually duplicated a page or two apart. Finally, there is no need to claim too much for one's subject. Nevertheless, whether or not we accept all of Mr. Harvey's contentions, he has made it impossible for subsequent students of American constitutional history to disregard Jean Jacques Burlamaqui.

University of Missouri.

CHARLES F. MULLETT.

A Brief Biography of Booker Washington. By ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Canon of Washington Cathedral. (Hampton: Hampton Institute Press. 1936. Pp. x, 42. \$1.00.)

Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom. By CHARLES H. WESLEY, Howard University. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1935. Pp. xi, 300. \$2.15.)

Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim. By ARTHUR HUFF FAUSET. [The Chapel Hill Series of Negro Biographies.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. 187. \$1.00.)

THE first of the books listed above merits its name only within the limitation which the title implies. It falls far short of an adequate estimate of the educator's career, and it reports no discovery of facts hitherto unknown to the public. The usual requirements for a brief sketch are met in that the striking incidents of Washington's life are narrated, but the work is chiefly valuable in giving the reaction of the mind of a white interracial worker to the role played by a distinguished Negro against the background of national and international forces.

Charles H. Wesley's *Richard Allen* is the first effort to produce a definitive biography of a distinguished American Negro. Most sketches of Negroes have been of the popular sort, with a political, religious, or racial bias. It was difficult in this case for Dr. Wesley to forget that the author and the subject of the sketch belong to the same race, but the book has many merits. Allen's achievement in building a religious denomination for his race is amply treated as such an account requires, and his career is projected on the screen with that of other great men and measures of his time. The author shows Allen's interest not only in such movements as those launched by Asbury, Wesley, and Coke, but in the political thought and action which made the American Revolution possible and the social and economic reconstruction which followed that struggle. Dr. Wesley should have read the proof more carefully in order to have his footnotes clear and to eliminate errors as to age and dates on pages 11 and 28. This work, however, is a valuable contribution to American historical literature.

Fauset's *Sojourner Truth* is both interesting and valuable. It narrates striking incidents in a career all but forgotten by the general public which shuffled off the Negro and his troubles not long after the Civil War and began to treat the race as a problem. To remind this waiting generation that such a character as Sojourner Truth actually lived in this country and helped to direct its national policy toward freedom and democracy is a timely service. The story of her humble beginnings, escape from bondage, mysterious communings with the infinite, and attack on slavery makes a gripping narrative. One would think that the author had in mind a dramatization for present-day movies. Reading the story, the student understands better what Fredrika Bremer had in mind when she said to Americans in 1851, "The romance of your history is the fate of the Negro." And yet Mr. Fauset's book is not a definitive treatment. He is concerned mainly with the presentation of facts most of which are known to serious workers in this field. His approach to the task at hand is more psychological than historical. While Sojourner Truth is made an important figure in the abolition movement along with Phillips, Garrison, and Douglass, the

other great forces with which she was identified are not similarly defined. With labor, temperance, and woman suffrage Sojourner Truth was much concerned.

*The Association for the Study of Negro
Life and History.*

C. G. WOODSON.

The Massachusetts First National Bank of Boston, 1784-1934. By N. S. B. GRAS. [Harvard Studies in Business History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xxiv, 768. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Gras tells us that his chief purposes in writing this history are three: "One is the study of the Bank in operation rather than its constitutional aspects. . . . The second aim has been to give the student of banking as much of the original material as possible for the most significant period. . . . The third aim has been to present in the General Introduction a running account of the history of the Bank." He modestly says: "This part will doubtless have to be modified as more information is made available from fresh sources."

The book is in three parts. Part I relates the history of the Massachusetts Bank, the Massachusetts National Bank, and finally the First National Bank of Boston. Part II consists of documents covering the period 1784-1865. They include a letter from Thomas Willing, the petition for the charter, the original charter and two amendments, extracts from the stockholders' minute book and directors' records, and lists of presidents, directors, and cashiers. Part III consists of statistics covering the period 1784-1865, including salaries of employees, lists of shareholders, rates of dividend, prices of the bank stock, bank statements, certain accounts, statistics of discounted bills and collection items, and profit and loss statements.

These records will be a mine for genealogists. There are many portraits, pictures of bank buildings, reproductions of bank notes, and organization charts. There is an excellent eight-page chronology of the bank.

The book suffers in comparison with the histories of the joint-stock banks of England which have recently appeared. Perhaps this is due partly to the character of the English banks, built up from a large number of banks covering the whole country, each with its particular story. But it is due more to the impression one gets that the English histories are "inside jobs" and that Professor Gras has done, very expertly to be sure, an "outside job". Indeed he complains in the preface that minutes and statistics are not enough to give motives for action and wishes that correspondence had been preserved. Perhaps, too, the records are fuller for the English banks.

Those who teach banking history will be grateful for the tracing of the direct influence of the Bank of North America on the Massachusetts Bank;

for the long run of bank accounts with the details of the way the bank kept its accounts; for the interesting history of the slow growth of the idea that deposits might be a source of profit to the bank; and for a new point of view about the Suffolk Bank and its bank note clearing arrangement to replace the almost uniformly favorable accounts usually given.

The student who reads the early records of the Massachusetts Bank will gain a deeper understanding of the problems of the early banks in general. Professor Gras has a wide knowledge of the economic history of the United States, and it is against this background that he traces the history of this particular institution.

New York University.

JAMES D. MAGEE.

The Changing West and Other Essays. By LAURENCE M. LARSON, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1937. Pp. ix, 180. \$2.50.)

THE eight essays that comprise this volume were written by a veteran historian whose life spanned a boyhood home in a pioneer Norwegian settlement in northern Iowa and the distinguished honor of the presidency of the American Historical Association. The late Professor Larson's researches were re-enforced by a background of rich experience that makes his essays sparkle with spontaneous observations and recollections. Salty characters—laymen and men who had taken holy orders, some of whom the author knew intimately—perambulate through his pages. With critical discernment, yet with sympathetic understanding, these contentious and earnest exponents of divergent doctrines and ecclesiastical polity are portrayed in the light of their European training, racial and cultural heritages, and frontier environment.

In the first essay, "The Changing West", the author directs attention to the "human map" of America, acknowledging his obligations to Frederick Jackson Turner, as all students of Western history should. Three facts, he thinks, characterized the entire Westward movement: "It was American; it was democratic; it was Protestant." The most significant fact in the progress of American settlement, especially after 1850, he says, is the appearance of great alien groups. It is to the Norwegian element in the American population that Professor Larson devotes the remaining seven essays. Collectively they contribute to a better understanding of the process of weaving the fabric of American society, a process that, with lengthening perspective, becomes a chapter of major importance in the history of the United States and, indeed, in the history of the world.

Professor Larson's interest in the history of the Norwegian Americans embraced their achievements in the fields of scholarship and literature, political activity, efforts to preserve Old World patterns of culture, customs, and institutions through the instrumentality of parochial schools, colleges,

seminaries, periodicals, and churches, and controversies that divided them into hostile camps commanded by conservatives and liberals or by "Norwegians" and "Americans". In his chapters "The Yankee School" and "The Lay Preacher in Pioneer Times" he has filmed a series of battles and skirmishes that suggest similar civil wars that were fought in other provinces of the Kingdom of God.

In the years intervening since the coming of the "Sloop Folk" in 1825 the impact of America on the civilization the Norwegian pioneers brought with them produced results neither expected nor desired by many of their leaders. In Professor Larson's own lifetime events of catastrophic proportions on both sides of the Atlantic hastened developments that in perspective seemed to be inevitable. The author projects himself into certain controversies to the extent of passing judgment on men who sought to divert the onrushing stream into channels of their own construction; but whether on the one side or the other, he never loses his sense of proportion and judiciousness. In other words, of him it may be said that he fully relishes the new moon, in spite of respect "for that venerable institution, the old one".

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to record that Professor Larson's volume of essays is a worthy addition to the long list of publications sponsored by the Norwegian-American Historical Association during the brief period of its existence. Dedicated to the collection, preservation, and publication of documents and monographs pertaining to a single racial group, it knew neither race, caste, religion, nor social condition in setting forth the claims of this group to serious consideration by students of history.

The University of Minnesota.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON.

The Beginnings of Printing in Arizona with an Account of the Early Newspapers and a Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Broad-sides printed in Arizona, 1860-1875. By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. (Chicago: Black Cat Press. 1937. Pp. 44, facsimis. 2. \$2.50.)

Indiana Imprints, 1804-1849: A Supplement to Mary Alden Walker's "Beginnings of Printing in the State of Indiana", published in 1934. By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1937. Pp. [4], 307-93. 75 cents.)

Montana Imprints, 1864-1880: Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Broad-sides printed within the Area now constituting the State of Montana. By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. (Chicago: Black Cat Press. 1937. Pp. 82. \$5.00.)

Vermont Imprints before 1800: An Introductory Essay on the History of Printing in Vermont, with a List of Imprints, 1779-1799. By ELIZABETH F. COOLEY. (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society. 1937. Pp. xxxii, 133. \$2.00.)

REGIONAL bibliographies such as these are of great value not only to

the historian of printing but also to the student of the beginnings of political, social, religious, and literary history. They record for us the ephemeral writings of our pioneers, and they tell us where we may consult them. They are now available for many sections of the country, but historians have not sufficiently realized their value in spite of the fact that, through interlibrary loan and the use of the photostat and microfilm copying, they may, at reasonable cost, bring the individual titles from distant libraries to their own study tables. Each of the excellent volumes listed above gives lined-off titles and full collations and sizes of the volumes recorded and tells in which library each may be consulted.

Mr. McMurtrie's three volumes are by-products of his *History of Printing in the United States* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 134). In the introduction to his *Beginnings of Printing in Arizona* he gives us in fifteen pages our best published account of the introduction of printing into that state and follows it with a description of the first thirty-five separate publications so far known to have been printed there between 1860 and 1875. They include territorial publications, speeches, and two or three historical works, all of great rarity and nine of them unique.

His *Indiana Imprints*, reprinted from the Indiana Historical Society's *Publications* (Vol. II, 1937), adds sixteen new printing towns to Miss Walker's list and describes 340 titles in addition to the 574 which she recorded. These include state documents and religious, educational, masonic, and political titles.

Montana Imprints is the first attempt to record the pioneer printing of that state. A six-page introduction briefly sketches the history of the pioneer presses, and the main text describes their first 164 separate publications, including 36 titles not printed in the state. There are many titles of historical and political interest and fewer relating to religion, as might be expected in a frontier mining state.

Miss Cooley's *Vermont Imprints before 1800*, originally a thesis prepared for the Columbia University School of Library Service, is the first attempt at a Vermont imprint bibliography, though one or two individual presses have been covered by others. In her nineteen-page introduction she supplies us with our best history of early Vermont printing and follows it with a description of 508 titles printed in that state from 1779 to 1799, including the 33 Dresden imprints previously recorded by Mr. Harold G. Rugg. The volume has an excellent bibliography, author index, and index of printers, and records the holdings of thirty-nine libraries. Vermonters have always been individualists, and their early publications are unusually interesting and varied. The extreme rarity of many of them makes such a finding list as this especially welcome.

The American Antiquarian Society.

R. W. G. VAIL.

The Hidden Lincoln: From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon.

By EMANUEL HERTZ. (New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. 461. \$5.00.)

IN Lincoln historiography the name of Herndon is outstanding, and the Herndon-Weik collection is unique. Few readers, however, know just how *Herndon's Lincoln* came into existence. It was after the death of Lincoln that Herndon began. Then, despite limited means, he made a valiant search, interviewing and corresponding with a great number of Lincoln's acquaintances and assembling that huge if uneven mass of data now known as the Herndon-Weik manuscripts. After some years Herndon sold copies of his material to Ward Lamon, whose realistic biography, written by Chauncey F. Black, reached its unappreciative public in 1872. The collection grew as the years passed, and in the eighties Herndon became associated with Jesse W. Weik of Greencastle, Indiana. Out of a tentative scheme for magazine articles there evolved the plan of a joint biography to which Herndon would contribute his matchless collection while Weik would serve as literary collaborator. But Herndon did more than submit material. Though underestimating his own literary ability with the true statement that he "wrote in a gallop, with a whoop", he penned hundreds of sizable letters to Weik in the eighties in which he ranged over the whole subject of Lincoln, giving elaborate reminiscences, recalling anecdotes, commenting on phases of Lincoln's life as revealed (or obscured) by the puzzling letters he had collected, and adding an amateurish factor of Herndonian psychoanalysis. He also "wrote up" passages on Lincoln's courtship of Ann Rutledge and Mary Owens, his ways and methods when addressing people, and other subjects. Taking this material, Weik served (in journalistic parlance) as a kind of "rewrite man", and in 1889 there appeared *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* by William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik. Though other biographers (e.g., Isaac N. Arnold) benefited by Herndon's generosity, the important Herndon-Weik manuscripts were long withheld from historical use; in the 1920's they were used again by Weik and notably by Beveridge but not by Barton, who belittled their significance. Now in 1938 a part of the actual papers is given to the public by Mr. Hertz.

If the reader should get the impression that Mr. Hertz's volume gives the complete Herndon-Weik collection, he would be seriously misled. The bulk of the collection, though drawn upon and quoted from as above indicated, is as yet unpublished. Among those whose writings appear in the collection but not in Mr. Hertz's book are Thaddeus Stevens, John Bell, E. B. Washburne, William H. Bissell, J. B. Turner, J. R. Giddings, J. M. Sturtevant, Richard Yates, John Wentworth, Robert Todd Lincoln, Matilda Johnston Moore (Lincoln's stepsister), J. W. Lamar (a neighbor at Gentryville), Green B. Taylor (of early Indiana days), John Pitcher, and Mentor Graham. The collection contains an interview with John Todd Stuart which Mr. Hertz's book lacks, and the same may be said as to material

from John McNamar (Ann Rutledge's lover), William ("Slippery Bill") Greene, James ("Jimmy") Short, Coleman Smoot, and various others. Only a small fraction of the Dennis Hanks material is reproduced. Many of those mentioned in Mr. Hertz's introduction (p. 22) as having made contributions to the collection are unrepresented by documents in the body of the book. Nor is the collection itself complete as to Herndon's writings—far from it. He had an extensive correspondence, and his "works" have never been collected. Of the hundreds of letters he wrote to Weik, about one third are included in the Hertz volume.

What Mr. Hertz gives is a selection, but hardly a well-rounded sampling of the whole mass. Sensational writings are chosen (*e.g.*, doubts as to Lincoln's legitimacy), and the public is given that of which it has been deprived by a puritanical "Grundysism". One finds much here in repetition of the discredited legend that Abe Enloe was Lincoln's father and that Thomas Lincoln was physically incapable of parenthood. This point will serve as well as any to suggest two tests that are needful in judging this book: an inquiry into the credibility of the Herndon-Weik collection itself and an examination of the adequacy of Mr. Hertz's editorship. Concerning the collection it may be noted, without disparaging Herndon's tireless investigation, that great masses of the material that came to him are of doubtful evidential value. Many of his informants were poorly educated, and their recollection in the sixties or seventies of far-off events in Lincoln's early days was necessarily defective. There will always be a lack of precision about many things in Lincoln's early story which can be "documented" by citation of letters or recorded interviews and yet are far removed from the authenticity of a provable contemporary account.

To the careful historian the editing is most unsatisfactory. There is no adequate account of the Herndon-Weik collection, and the introduction, which contains various errors, answers surprisingly few of the questions that a reading of the volume provokes. The editor gives no indication of the source of each document used. Whether a particular item is from the Herndon-Weik collection, the Huntington Library, or some other source, does not appear. The statement by Mr. Hertz that "the originals . . . of Herndon's draft chapters for Lamon's book and of his letters to Weik" are in the Huntington Library (p. 19) seems definitely erroneous. Spelling and punctuation have been "normalized", which in the case of Dennis Hanks is almost an insult to his originality! This normalization, besides sacrificing flavor, gives the documents a greater appearance of reliability than if they were reproduced with the original peculiarities. Explanatory annotation is lacking, though the material is of the kind that calls loudly for editorial guidance; on the Enloe matter no indication is given to the reader that the scandal was refuted years ago by Barton. Assuredly Mr. Hertz's contribution is not in editing but in selecting and releasing documents hitherto inaccessible.

The volume raises anew the question of the Herndon portrait of Lincoln. Though a bug's-eye view, it remains a classic: the reviewer has just found the re-reading of Herndon a fascinating exercise. Already, however, Herndon has lost somewhat of his none-too-perfect historical standing. The early Lincoln is not nearer by reason of the present volume but more remote. Or perhaps it is that this remoteness, as well as the uncertainties of evidence involved, becomes now more obvious. A book which is advertised as "the most important book on Lincoln since 1889" serves but to remind the critical student that the frontier of Lincoln scholarship (*e.g.*, in the appraisal of evidence) is yet to be considerably advanced.

University of Illinois.

J. G. RANDALL.

Albert Gallatin Brown, Radical Southern Nationalist. By JAMES BYRNE RANCK, Professor of History, Hood College. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xiv, 320. \$5.00.)

A biography of Albert Gallatin Brown is important for two reasons. He was one of the few nonaristocrats to reach high office in the ante-bellum South, and he was one of the earliest and most intense advocates of Southern rights and secession in the Gulf states. His story, as here told by Mr. Ranck, throws new light on the attitudes of the much neglected middle class of the South and helps to a better understanding of the extreme role which this group and its leaders played in the move for Southern independence.

Brown was born in the Chester district of South Carolina in 1813 of poor and humble parents. Ten years later the family drifted to southwestern Mississippi, then a typical frontier of retreating Indians, public lands, and pioneer farmers. They prospered as did most others in those "flush times", and young Albert had a turn at college before reading law and entering politics. For thirty-three years, without a defeat, he held public office, always representing the interests of the lesser men of his state.

The political policies by which Brown so steadily held the support of what the *Mississippi Free Trader* called "the farmer—the laborer—the working man—the poor man", and by which he rose to the state legislature, the national House of Representatives, the governorship, and the United States Senate, were of two general kinds. The first, predominating until about 1848, showed a typical Western outlook and purpose; the second, coming to full expression in opposition to the Compromise of 1850, revealed an extreme Southern sectional attitude. In the earlier period Brown was a nationalist. In the early 1830's he favored action by the Federal government to stabilize finances in Mississippi and backed President Jackson in his fight against the South Carolina nullifiers. A few years later he opposed the National Bank, urged the rapid expansion of railroads, the passage of pre-emption and homestead legislation, the establishment of public schools,

the repudiation of state debts contracted in banking efforts, and the annexation of Texas, in thoroughly good Western fashion. With the Wilmot Proviso he swung sharply to a Southern position. By 1860 he was in the vanguard of the secessionists, as rabid in his demands as Yancey, Rhett, or Ruffin.

Mr. Ranck has traced in sound, scholarly fashion the course of Brown's development. He has, better than most writers, understood the thoroughly frontier character of Mississippi life during most of the ante-bellum period. He finds the explanation of Brown's success in the predominance of plain, middle-class men and of pioneer attitudes. He has not, however, quite understood the way in which the later policies fit consistently into this pattern. He sees something of a break where none exists. Brown's rabid Southern position, after 1848, represented the normal reactions of lesser, "more democratic", Southern men, still fundamentally Western in temper, to the threat which the antislavery moves made to their interests. Brown understood, as did his followers, that freedom for the slave meant a social and economic race war between Negroes and middle-class whites. Brown put it this way:

The rich will flee the Country. . . . Then the non-slaveholder will begin to see what his real fate is. The negro will . . . insist on being treated as an equal . . . that his son shall marry the white man's daughter, and the white man's daughter his son. . . . Then will commence a war of races such as has marked the history of San Domingo.

All of which renders understandable the fact that in 1860-61 the large planters were conservative and often openly opposed to secession, while Brown and his farmers and lesser whites were rabid for a complete break with the North.

Mr. Ranck has written a useful biography of a man whose unique position in the ante-bellum South enables us better to understand the less conspicuous but more important groups and forces which shaped the reactions of a section. He writes well, and his book is supplied with a valuable set of maps which show clearly the sectional cleavage and interest concentrations in Mississippi.

The University of Chicago.

AVERY CRAVEN.

A History of the United States since the Civil War. Volume V, 1888-1901.

By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 791. \$4.50.)

Mr. Oberholtzer's final volume has both the merits and the defects of its predecessors. Its principal merit is the assemblage within two covers of a mass of factual detail for which the student and general reader would otherwise have to search through a large number of volumes. Its principal

defects are its reliance upon limited and in some respects outdated sources of information; its lack not merely of philosophical depth but of any interpretive qualities or skill in synthesis, so that it presents history rather as a jumble than as a design; its literary clumsiness; and its consistent display of the bias of a conservative upper-class observer. Like the work as a whole, this last segment, amorphous, confused, and essentially superficial though it is, will have great temporary value as a work of reference and is indispensable on the shelves of any good library of American history for the period since the Civil War; but it is inconceivable that it will not be quickly and completely supplanted.

Again and again the author shows that his forte is description and his weakness is analysis. Beginning with a spirited and correct account of that campaign of 1888, in which Calvin S. Brice and others threw away the presidency for Cleveland, he closes with a description of the social and economic state of America in 1900. The thirteen years between Benjamin Harrison's nomination and McKinley's assassination afford opportunity for many graphic and accurate pages on the outward aspect of American events: on the panic of 1893, on Coxey's army, on the opening of Oklahoma, on the rousing campaign of 1896, on the Cuban insurrection, on Manila Bay and Santiago, on the return of prosperity, and on the "second battle" of Bryan in 1900. The primary sources for all this are printed biographies, newspaper files, and government documents. While some work has been done in the Cleveland, Gresham, McKinley, and other papers, many manuscript collections have been neglected, no research has been made in departmental archives, and survivors of this crowded epoch have not been interviewed. Moreover, even in using biographies and monographs Mr. Oberholtzer rather signally neglects some of the newest and best works. His materials are often adequate for a vigorous and vivid picture of scenes and personalities. But they seldom suffice for a penetrating inquiry into situations or into the causation of complex events. His discussion, for example, of the situation in 1890 from which emerged the Sherman silver-purchase bill, the antitrust bill, the force bill, and the McKinley tariff is quite unilluminating. So is his treatment of the issues bound up in the long battle between the gold standard men and the Western agrarians; and so is his account of the situation which brought about American intervention in Cuba. The deeper social and economic currents of the time are hardly even indicated in reference to some important events. The rising tide of jingoism or aggressive nationalism, its causes and consequences, in relation to the Venezuela affair and the Spanish War; the special relations of big business to the Harrison and McKinley administrations—even these are hardly more than hinted at. It seems evident that Mr. Oberholtzer's social predilections are responsible for a distinct myopia in various directions. He has neither sympathy with nor understanding of the farmer and laborer

in this period and treats the Populist uprising, the Homestead affair, and the Pullman strike with manifest dislike for the participants in these "clamorous émeutes". His attitude toward Altgeld is that fashionable twenty-five years ago, and he flings some most unfortunate epithets at the immigrants who entered America in the nineties from southern and eastern Europe. On the other hand, a reader of this volume would wonder why there was ever any public feeling on the trust question.

It is for the present an exceedingly useful book, but one of its uses lies in pointing to the need for a truer, more analytical, and more penetrating general history of the period.

Columbia University.

ALLAN NEVINS.

The Formation of the New England Railroad Systems: A Study of Railroad Combination in the Nineteenth Century. By GEORGE PIERCE BAKER, Harvard University. [The Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University and the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxi, 283. \$3.50.)

The Reorganization of the American Railroad System, 1893-1900: A Study of the Effects of the Panic of 1893, the Ensuing Depression, and the First Years of Recovery in Railroad Organization and Financing. By E. G. CAMPBELL. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 366. \$4.50.)

THESE two volumes, the one by an economist and the other by a historian, afford further evidence of the growing interest in the history of American railways, an important but comparatively neglected phase of the larger story of American development.

Within the rather severe limits which he has imposed upon himself Professor Baker has done an excellent job. His is strictly a study in railway combination in New England in the period prior to 1904, the story of the forging of a few large rail chains out of an innumerable number of small links. After tracing the evolution of the Boston and Albany to its lease by the New York Central, the author describes in successive chapters the growth of the three systems which were combined to form the present New Haven system and to give it control of the territory south of the Boston and Albany. In similar fashion he shows the steps in the formation of the four roads which, when united, gave to the Boston and Maine a dominant position north of the Boston and Albany line. Separate chapters are given over to the Maine Central and to the Vermont systems. The conclusion is an elaborate analysis, by decades, of the various forms of combination. The seventies were the most productive of combinations with 71, followed closely by the eighties with 55. Of the total of 226 combinations, lease accounts for 111, financial control for 36, and consolidation for 25.

The text is profusely illustrated with maps and control charts. The

author has gathered his material chiefly from the reports of the railway companies, from railway and financial periodicals, and from the reports of the state railroad commissioners. The work would be of more general interest if the background material, ruthlessly condensed in the introduction, were substantially expanded and diffused through the various chapters. The multiplicity of company names makes heavy reading. Little attention is given to the personalities engaged in railway promotion, to methods of financing, to sources of capital, or to the aspirations, the disappointed hopes, and the rivalries which railway construction engendered among the various communities within New England. Mr. Baker has given us a model study in railway combination; he has not written a history of railway transportation in New England.

The title of Mr. Campbell's book calls to mind Stuart Daggett's *Railroad Reorganization*, which appeared just thirty years ago. The difference between the two books is largely that of time and the professional interests of the two authors. Campbell has the advantage of the better perspective afforded by the lapse of thirty years. He is a historian; Daggett, an economist.

The theme of Mr. Campbell's book is the transformation of the American railway system in the wake of the panic of 1893: the appearance of the first of the great railway combinations and the transfer of control of them to a select group of bankers. It is his contention, however, that the depression of the nineties was merely the occasion rather than the fundamental cause of the financial reorganization of the numerous systems. The basic cause he finds in "trends already well established in the quarter century following the Civil War". In support of this thesis is the fact that railways which had previously been well and honestly managed not only came through the depression safely, but, in certain instances, emerged larger and financially stronger than before the panic.

Very appropriately the author devotes almost one third of his book to the period between 1865 and 1890, in which the evils of overexpansion and the gross mismanagement of the time are clearly set forth. These factors had brought many systems to the brink. The panic merely served to push them over. An account of the descent into bankruptcy is then followed by chapters dealing with the Morgan reorganizations, the Morgan-Hill alliance, and the rise of E. H. Harriman. As the country emerged from the panic it found these three men for the first time in the front rank in the American railway industry, and it discovered that a half-dozen financial groups dominated the railway scene. Depression had inaugurated a movement towards consolidation which has not yet run its course.

Campbell's treatment of the details of financial reorganizations is less exhaustive than that of Daggett, but he makes abundantly clear the larger significance of that turbulent decade in the railway world.

Brown University.

JAMES B. HEDGES.

Republican Hispanic America: A History. By CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN, University of California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 463. \$3.00.)

A History of Latin America. By DAVID R. MOORE, Oberlin College. [Prentice-Hall History Series.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1938. Pp. xii, 826. \$4.00.)

THE national period is the sole concern of Chapman's book and the main concern of Moore's. The latter begins with the fifteenth century but devotes only about one third of his space to the colonial period, which the former discussed in a separate volume published in 1933. Since Hispanic (or Latin) America is only a geographical expression, the textbook writer dealing with the national period finds the problem of organization of his material a difficult one. Both of these writers have solved it in the usual way by devoting most of their space to brief histories of each of the score of states composing that region. Chapman follows the national scheme less closely than Moore. The former has seven chapters (almost one third of his whole text) on subjects which cut across national boundary lines; the latter, in the national period, has only one such chapter (a long one on foreign relations).

The most striking difference between the two lies in Moore's far stronger accent on the contemporary, to which, in a section entitled "Latin America Today", he devotes more than one third of his space. For example, he has forty-seven pages on Mexico since 1910, including nine pages on the Cárdenas administration, whereas Chapman has only four pages on Mexico since 1910 and five lines on Cárdenas. On the other hand, Chapman's discussion of the earlier period is sometimes more penetrating, as in his emphasis on the importance of federal intervention in Brazil and Argentina—a point which seems to have escaped Moore's attention.

Chapman's bibliography contains an essay on authorities; Moore's does not, and though it is a long one it omits important works by Irving Leonard, Eyler Simpson, Frank Tannenbaum, J. F. Normano, and others. There are eleven maps in Moore's book and three maps and six illustrations in Chapman's. Both indexes are good; Chapman's is elaborate.

The resemblances between these two books are probably more important than the differences. The main theme of both is political history (political parties, constitutions, dictatorships, international relations, church and state), although both make frequent reference to racial and economic factors. Neither author discusses systematically the recent, rapid, and highly significant development of air transportation and the radio. Cultural history does not fare very well in either book; and both give less attention to political and social ideas than these seem to deserve in view of the interest that the Latin American people have taken in them.

In their main outlines (national treatment and emphasis on political

history) these two books do not differ greatly from other textbooks in the field; but within this scheme both have made important contributions. Every part of Chapman's book—text, footnotes, and essay on authorities—is studded with sagacious and refreshing observations; and Moore's long account of "Latin America Today" is unquestionably the best thing of its kind. Both deserve and will doubtless win wide acceptance in our colleges and universities.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil. By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Professor of History, Goucher College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 413. \$3.50.)

UNDER the searchlight of historical scrutiny the majority of biographies of eminent Latin Americans have fared badly. During recent years a host of men, acclaimed in their respective countries as peerless statesmen and generals, have shrunk notably in both moral and intellectual stature. But a few have risen to hitherto unsuspected heights. Among these perhaps the outstanding is Dom Pedro II, emperor of Brazil from 1840 to 1889. It is one of the anomalies of Latin American history that one of the nineteenth century's most intriguing and sympathetic characters should only now possess a fully satisfactory biography.

Dr. Williams's book was written *con amore* and with infinite patience. No important sources in Brazil, the United States, or France were neglected. She found a particularly rich quarry in the Chateau d'Eu in France, where the archives of the Bragança family were freely thrown open to the author by the grandson of the emperor. The resultant book might well be entitled "The Life and Times of Dom Pedro II". Some of the chapter headings will suggest how rich is the texture of the narrative: "Dom Pedro's Brazil in the 1840's", "Dom Pedro Struggles with a Premature Political System", "Among the Intellectuals". Unusually entertaining is the chapter devoted to Dom Pedro's visit to the United States in 1876. The number of anecdotes relating to the emperor is legion, but the writer, with rare self-control, cites them only when they are pertinent.

Though his defenders far outnumber his detractors, Dom Pedro has been the victim of caustic and at times vitriolic attacks by Brazilian writers. Only two of these charges merit attention. It is alleged that the emperor, though apparently scrupulously fulfilling his duties as constitutional monarch, was in reality a despot and through clever manipulation of the machinery of state contrived to wield absolute power. The other gravamen is to the effect that he was so engrossed in political and intellectual affairs that he took but a perfunctory interest in the economic development of the country. Dr. Williams has directly or indirectly answered both charges. The so-called "despotism" of the emperor was in reality a conscientious and

successful attempt to impress upon a politically immature and inexperienced people a rectitude in public affairs hitherto unapproached in either Portuguese or Spanish America. In the words of the late Oliveira Lima, "if there was any despotism it was the despotism of morality".

Dr. Williams is possibly less successful in acquitting the emperor of the second count of the indictment. In her chapter entitled "Promotion of Internal Progress" she describes the economic advance under Dom Pedro. Considering the length of the emperor's reign and his many opportunities, it must be confessed that the rhythm was slow and halting. The truth of the matter is that his major interests lay in other fields. During this time there lived and wrought the greatest financier, entrepreneur, and practical economist of the empire, the Visconde de Mauá. He accomplished much, but he might have accomplished more had Dom Pedro offered him greater support and encouragement. It is unfortunate that Mauá receives but two lines in Dr. Williams's book.

In writing what is unquestionably the best life of Dom Pedro which has thus far appeared in any language the author has placed all students of the period greatly in her debt. She has, moreover, given to the general reader a book which is characterized throughout by charm, dignity, and restraint.

Stanford University.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Truth in History and Other Essays. By WILLIAM A. DUNNING. With an Introduction by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. xxvii, 228, \$2.75.) This volume is composed of reprints of various addresses and reviews written by Professor Dunning from 1900 to 1919. The spirit and purpose of this collection are admirable, but in view of the distinguished works of Professor Dunning already in print and fully expressing his mature views on the subjects of his competence, it may well be questioned whether any very useful purpose is served by the present compilation. The Charleston presidential address before the American Historical Association (1913) on the subject of "Truth in History" is admirable, but this is already available in the *American Historical Review* (XIX, 217-29). The review of the *Education of Henry Adams* is distinguished in character, but this, too, is already available, in the *Political Science Quarterly* (XXXIV, 305-11). The most valuable part of the book is the notable introduction by Professor Hamilton, full of pith and presented in attractive style. The comments on Dunning's testimony in the Henry Ford libel suit recall a little known but significant phase of his activities. I take pleasure in comparing Hamilton's account with my own recollections of my former professor and in finding that his observations are of the same general tenor and type as my own.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM.

University of Michigan Historical Essays. Edited by A. E. R. BOAK. [University of Michigan Publications.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1937, pp. vii, 182, \$2.25.) This volume embodies a collection of eight historical essays on widely differing subjects in both European and American history. The titles and authors are as follows: "Wreck of the Sea" by Frederick C. Hamil; "The Rejection of Columbus by John of Portugal" by Charles E. Nowell; "Efforts to secure an Austro-German Customs Union in the Nineteenth Century" by Dwight C. Long; "The Délégation des Gauches and its Critics" by Rudolph A. Winacker; "Russian Embassies to Peking during the Eighteenth Century" by John W. Stanton; "Transportation and Naval Defense in the Old Northwest during the British Régime, 1760-96" by Nelson Vance Russell; "The Connecticut Clergy and the Stamp Act" by Karl H. Reichenbach; and "The Catholepistemiad, or University, of Michigania" by Egbert R. Isbell. These essays appear, with some exceptions, to be of fairly even quality as to scholarship. The value of the volume is not enhanced, however, by the inclusion of Mr. Russell's essay, since the paper in question is strikingly similar to one published on the same subject some fourteen years ago by Milo M. Quaife, entitled "The Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes" (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, Vol. II, No. 5, May 1924). The same approach, the same sequence, and in many instances the same language is found in the two articles. Only about a dozen of the twenty-six pages of Russell's paper are entirely free from reliance upon Quaife's text with respect either to verbatim language or paraphrase. It is only fair to state, however, that Russell cites Quaife's article and that he adds some additional information and cites sources which were not available when Quaife wrote.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

Index Generalis, 1938: *The Year Book of the Universities, High Schools, Academies, Astronomical Observatories, Scientific Institutions, Libraries, Learned Societies*. Published annually. Edited by S. DE MONTESSUS DE BALLORE. (Paris, Masson; New York, Crofts, 1938, pp. 2614, \$12.50.) In the twenty years of its existence the *Index Generalis* has developed from a volume of 768 pages giving information on the universities of thirty-seven countries to one of 2614 pages furnishing material on many varied kinds of educational and learned institutions in fifty-three countries. There are seven sections: (1) universities and colleges, arranged alphabetically by country and under each country alphabetically by place name—under the United States, however, the arrangement is alphabetical by the name of university or college; (2) observatories; (3) libraries; (4) scientific institutions; (5) learned societies; (6) special lists—Nobel prizes, docteurs honoris causa, intellectual exchanges, and principal publishers of the various countries; (7) indexes—personal, geographical by country, geographical by city, and table of contents. The information for each institution is revised at the institution, and in most cases the date of revision is given at the head of the notice. For universities, there is given the name, date of founding, number of students, names of officers, and members of the various faculties. For societies, libraries, etc., the address, purpose, size, hours of opening, specialties, and officers are usually included.

CONSTANCE M. WINCHELL.

The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama. By LORD RAGLAN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xi, 311, \$3.50.) The author shows the valuelessness of traditions, myths, and dramas as history, referring particularly to the Norse sagas, the King Arthur stories, and the Tale of Troy. He goes even further than this and presents as his thesis the view that "the traditional narrative, in all its forms, is based not upon historical facts . . . or imaginative fiction . . . but upon dramatic ritual or ritual drama" (p. 281). As a part of his discussion he refers to what others have called "folk memory" and considers how long "an incident which is not recorded in writing can be remembered"; he decides that one hundred and fifty years is the maximum length of time (p. 13). Lord Raglan has written a book that will be helpful to students of historiography.

ELEANOR D. SMITH.

Christianity, Capitalism, and Communism: A Historical Analysis. By ALBERT HYMA. (Ann Arbor, published by the author, 1937, pp. 303, \$2.75.) To deal with the interrelationships of three such large movements as Christianity, capitalism, and communism in three hundred pages is a bold undertaking. The principal topics treated are wealth and poverty in the medieval church, Luther's attitude toward capitalism, the economic theories of Calvin, sixteenth century communism, sixteenth century Protestantism and the rise of capitalism, Calvinism and capitalism in the Dutch Republic, Puritanism and capitalism, present-day communism, and the sit-down strike. The author brings together a great deal of information, and the book is carefully documented. It is more valuable from the standpoint of factual data than of interpretation. The Weber-Troeltsch thesis regarding the influence of Calvinism on capitalism is brusquely rejected. The author holds that Calvin's economic theories differed scarcely at all from Luther's—a judgment which will be disputed by most students of the period. The concluding chapter on the sit-down strike, which seems distinctly out of place in a historical treatise, reveals a strong antilabor bias and ends with diatribes against liberal ministers who get mixed up in such matters.

GEORGIA HARKNESS.

The Way of a Ship: An Essay on the Literature of Navigation Science. By LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Portland, Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1937, pp. xii, 92, \$3.00.) The importance of this book by the librarian of the John Carter Brown Library is incommensurable with its size, for it is the first work to present in English, adapted for a layman's reading, the early history of that science by which men find their way across the great waters. There are chapters explaining the mariner's instruments, from those used by Columbus, through Halley's quadrant, to the chronometer. The use of declination tables is explained and the significance of the Portolan Chart described. "Rutters" and "waggoners" are defined, and examples given. There is a bibliography of early Iberian *regimentos*, of manuals of navigation (ancestors of our modern *Bowditch*), and of seamen's almanacs, from which the American Nautical Almanac is directly descended. Map projections, great circle courses, and rhumb lines are all explained. For the historian who is curious to know how the great navigators of the past "got there", Dr. Wroth has provided the simplest introduction; for librarians and collectors he has pointed out the really significant works on navigation that have appeared since the invention of printing.

S. E. MORISON.

Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis. Edited by VIKTOR NOVAK. Volume III, Nos. 1-4. (Ljubljana, Jugoslovensko istorisko društvo, 1937, pp. vi, 647.) This issue of the Yugoslav historical review, which was founded in 1935 by the Yugoslav Historical Association, is published as a voluminous yearbook. The contributions are printed in Serb, Croat, or Slovene, according to the language of the contributor; all articles contain at the end a synopsis in a Western language or in Latin. The articles and shorter notes occupy about 300 pages, the book reviews about 320 pages. The volume opens with an obituary of Stanoje Stanojević, the founder of the Yugoslav historical review, who died in July, 1937. Most of the articles in the volume deal with the ancient and medieval history of the Yugoslav peoples.

HANS KOHN.

The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315-1791. By JACOB R. MARCUS. (Cincinnati, Sinai Press, 1938, pp. xxiv, 504, \$3.00.) This volume, primarily intended for school use, ought to prove very useful in and outside the classroom. More advanced students of medieval history will likewise appreciate this collection, in English translation, of some 160 excerpts from the original sources in Hebrew, Latin, etc. Selected from a multitude of extant records, they are sufficiently significant and varied to be of interest also to the uninitiated reader. Following a custom, well-established in Jewish historiography, the author extends the range of the term "medieval" from 315 A.D., the beginning of the anti-Jewish legislation of the Christian Roman Empire, to 1791, the year of the emancipation of French Jewry. In the first two sections he deals with the respective attitudes of the medieval state and church to the Jews and devotes the third and largest section to the various aspects of inner Jewish life. The translations, whether taken from available English renderings (with some minor, generally felicitous, adaptations) or especially prepared for this compilation, are on the whole both accurate and readable. Each excerpt or group of excerpts is preceded by a brief introduction, accompanied by a number of explanatory notes, and followed by a short bibliography. The latter gives references to relevant chapters in single-volume textbooks and suggested readings for advanced students (for the most part in such standard works as Graetz's *History* and the *Jewish Encyclopedia*) and points out some additional source material in

English. One may question, however, the wisdom of the author's decision to reduce the scholarly apparatus to an absolute minimum on the ground that "the relevant literature is known to the research historian; others are probably not interested in such detail" (p. xii). Even the references to the original publications from which the excerpts are taken are relegated to the end of the volume.

SALO W. BARON.

Old Parish Life in London. By CHARLES PENDRILL. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 295, \$8.00.) This is one of those books which are likely to be widely read and are useful in arousing interest but are of little value to scholars. It contains few references and various dubious statements, for example on ecclesiastical history and the history of local government, which are to be explained, no doubt, by the fact that the author has read numerous historical documents and collected much interesting material without having had preliminary historical training.

Atlas historique. III, *Les temps modernes.* By ARMAND RÉBILLON, with the collaboration of VICTOR-L. TAPIÉ. (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1937, pp. 26, maps XXIV, 36 fr.) This is one of a series of four volumes, by different authors, concerned respectively with *L'Antiquité*, *Le Moyen Age*, *Les temps modernes*, and *Époque contemporaine*. The present volume hardly justifies the claim made for the series by the publisher—"un travail entièrement original", and its black-and-white maps are less clear than those in Shepherd's *Atlas*. The bibliography, however, is a useful contribution, listing not only the most important atlases of earlier days but also contemporary publications of a type which are too often overlooked by American college libraries. An outstanding example of these recent studies and a model of its kind is A. Gasser's *Die territoriale Entwicklung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (Aarau, H. R. Sauerländer), which covers the territorial changes of the Swiss Confederation up to 1797.

T. H. THOMAS.

Carl Schurz: Vom deutschen Einwanderer zum amerikanischen Staatsmann. By CHESTER VERNE EASUM. [Die deutsche Leistung in der Welt, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Akademie München und dem Deutschen Ausland-Institut Stuttgart.] (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1937, pp. xi, 219, 4 M.) This volume, shorter in length but more inclusive biographically than the American edition (1929, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 928), was written by Professor Easum for the German public. He has taken pains to give German readers, especially by means of footnote sketches, a picture of the country and the people with whom Carl Schurz came in contact. He has properly laid emphasis upon the care with which Schurz mastered the ideals of American life and government and strove to further them, rising to influence without sacrificing his political and intellectual independence. The last third of the book, dealing with Schurz after about 1870 and not included in the American edition, is too sketchy to be of equal value with the rest, although a more detailed treatment of Schurz's attitude toward imperialism, the next phase in the development of his adopted country, would have been of interest. Technically the book leaves much to be desired, for the translation is indifferent, and there are many printers' errors because of circumstances beyond the author's control. It deserves, nevertheless, more German readers than it will probably find today.

E. N. ANDERSON.

The Last Spanish War: Revelations in "Diplomacy". By ORESTES FERRARA. Translated from the Spanish by William E. Shea. (New York, Paisley Press, 1937, pp. 151, \$1.50.) After thirty years of intermittent investigation the author of this

monograph has succeeded in throwing considerable new light on the diplomatic maneuvers of the European powers in the period of the Spanish-American War. It is a detailed story of the intrigues and carefully concealed plots to form a European bloc of powers to oppose United States intervention in Cuba. Dr. Ferrara was able to obtain information about hitherto unused correspondence in the archives of Italy and France, copies of Spanish documents, and a digest of the Russian materials. This, together with the printed collections so richly available for Germany and Austria, has enabled him to piece together a fairly convincing reconstruction of the course of events. At many points actual quotation of the documents, rather than allusions to papers the writer was informed about but had not actually seen, would have been much more satisfying. References to the growing body of European studies in diplomatic history which impinge on the author's subject are lacking. The work has no formal bibliography or index. The archival citations are so abbreviated that difficulty would be experienced if anyone tried to use them. In spite of these defects this volume contains the first clear picture of the operations of the European chancellories during the Spanish-American crisis and is a welcome addition to the scanty literature of the subject.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

International Law Situations, with Solutions and Notes, 1936. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. vii, 144, 15 cents.) Situations are posed and discussed involving insurrection, belligerency, statehood, and visitation by and internment of belligerent aircraft. The volume also contains a treatment of the changing attitude of the United States as a neutral from 1914 to 1936.

An Introduction to Current Affairs. By RAPHAEL LEVY. (Washington, James Sylvan Shank, 1372 Randolph Street, N. W., 1938, pp. 107, \$1.75, mimeographed.)

Nationalism on the Defensive. By GERALD M. SPRING. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1937, pp. 55, \$1.50.) The author of this pamphlet defends cultural regionalism and traditionalism and believes that even within the fascist countries these two forces are more powerful than nationalism. He emphasizes the ideals which fascists, communists, and liberals hold in common and hopefully regards the long-run effect of those dividing them as slight. In a special section devoted to the intellectual he advises the latter to heed the criticism of uprootedness which Barrès, Julien Benda, the National Socialists, and others have leveled at him and to cultivate "a keener sense of social responsibility and a deeper understanding of history". He opposes the ideal of equality in favor of that of hierarchy and announces the coming of a new society, regionalistic and cosmopolitan. The author never defines his terms carefully or weighs the relationship between regionalism and traditionalism on the one hand and nationalism on the other. The essay is an expression of faith.

E. N. ANDERSON.

International Aspects of German Racial Policies. By OSCAR I. JANOWSKY and MELVIN M. FAGEN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xxi, 266, \$2.00.) In this book the authors present a collection of material the substance of which was submitted in support of a petition to the League of Nations asking League intervention against racial persecution in Germany. The basis of the book is the letter of resignation, including its appended report, of James G. McDonald, former high commissioner for German refugees, which is printed in full in the present volume. The McDonald report, made in December, 1935, still remains one of the most impressive exposés of German National Socialist policy. In addition to this report the book contains a section on international practices

bearing on human rights, particularly on the international problem of forced emigration. This is an elaboration of material presented to the League in support of a petition asking for League intervention "not only on humanitarian grounds, but also because the actions and policies of the German National Socialist Government, having their immediate effects and working direct injury in the territory of other states, constitute a series of violations of the rights of these states, as well as a breach of solemn international undertakings and obligations". The authors' presentation of the problem is, unfortunately, the least impressive part of the book. It bears too strongly the marks of a lawyer's brief. There is an interesting preface by James Brown Scott, an introduction by James N. Rosenberg and Morris R. Cohen, and a postscript by Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.

M. W. ROYSE.

Problems of War and Peace in the Society of Nations. [Lectures arranged by the University of California Committee on International Relations.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. viii, 155, \$1.50.) Of the six addresses in this publication three are useful: "Socialism in Relation to War and Peace" by Professor Carl Landauer, "The Problem of World Organisation" by Professor Malbone W. Graham, and "Is World Peace an Attainable Ideal?" by Professor George M. Stratton. Professor Landauer shows clearly how and why socialists came to fight for their countries in 1914. Professor Graham attributes the weakness of the League of Nations to Woodrow Wilson's attempt to give a confederal institution functions proper to a federal institution. Professor Stratton thinks that world peace is an attainable ideal by reason of man's desire for wealth, justice, and defense. Professor Edwin D. Dickinson's address, "The Great Community", is a sketch of the history to date of international law and is thus masquerading under a misleading title. Professor Charles G. Haines's address, "Constitutional Government as a Means to Promote Peace", is a sketch of the constitutional history of the United States and, as such, wholly irrelevant to his title and to the theme of the series. Professor Robert A. Brady delivers a tirade, not upon "Fascism in Relation to War and Peace" as his title suggests, but upon fascist social forms. Furthermore, he greatly overstates what is, soberly stated, a perfect case.

RUSHTON COULBORN.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

Ritual and Cults of Pre-Roman Iguvium. By IRENE ROSENZWEIG. [Studies and Documents edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake.] (London, Christophers, 1937, pp. vii, 152, 155.) This volume is concerned with the so-called Iguvine tablets, a series of elaborate ritual texts inscriptionally preserved at Iguvium, the modern Gubbio. The tablets preserve the practice and formulations of a time when Iguvium was a small community set among enemies. Miss Rosenzweig gives a detailed discussion of the ceremonies, from which she seeks to recon-

struct a plan of Iguvium on the basis of the processional route. She discusses also the religious organization involved and gives exhaustive consideration to what has been done by way of linguistic interpretation (see J. Whatmough's review, *Am. Jour. Phil.*, LIX, 250-53). No document gives a clearer picture of the difference between Greek and Italian customs in worship and in its control.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

A Numismatic Commentary on the Res Gestae of Augustus. By JESSIE D. NEWBY. (Edmond, privately printed, 1938, pp. xvi, 117, plates IV, \$3.50.) The definitive work suggested by this title still remains to be done. Miss Newby has "generally . . . cited only one coin in support of any one claim" of Augustus (p. xv). This will do for illustration, but since, if the coins are to enlighten us concerning Augustus's career, it is in the aggregate that they must do so rather than singly, Miss Newby might easily have added to the usefulness of her dissertation by including references to pertinent coins not described. The author depends on statements of others, even in easily ascertainable matters. What comment of her own she does venture reflects that naïveté and starry-eyed, romantic veneration only too frequently encountered, in the light of which the heroes of antiquity were completely noble altruists. Thus the comparative absence from the coins of Augustus's widespread building operations means for her that "apparently Augustus did not crave the recognition that was to be had from the expending of vast sums" (p. 62). Such idolizing actually does Augustus less than justice and betrays a complete lack of understanding of the character and policy of a man who was clever enough to realize the effective propaganda that a well-calculated modesty constitutes. There is no justification for Miss Newby's thinking that her coin No. 80 (Br.Mus.Cat., Emp.I, 26, No. 124) shows the statue of Agrippa which stood in the pronaos of the Pantheon—Mattingly's suggestion that it may be the one which stood in the temple of Mars Ultor has some basis, at least—and the interpretation of this coin, presented as her own, has long been the generally accepted one. Limitation of space prevents detailing of minor failings. The four plates are poor. Their omission might have resulted in a more reasonable price.

NAPHTALI LEWIS.

The Mind of the Ancient World: A Consideration of Pliny's NATURAL HISTORY. By H. N. WETHERED. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xv, 301, \$4.00.) Mr. Wethered has written a sort of epitome of Pliny's *Natural History*, with liberal quotations from Philemon Holland's Tudor translation. The organization of the material is well illustrated by the very first chapter, entitled "Of Man", where we find the following sequence of topics: the Stoic conception of nature and man, longevity, abnormal births, change of sex, long-distance running, feats of strength, memory, happiness, immortality. Wethered believes that "by knowing too much we only succeed in the end in starving the imagination" (p. xii), and in his chatty comments we learn that Aristotle was the "first evolutionist" (p. 44) and that Herodotus "constituted the very foundation of the knowledge accepted by all ancient writers" (p. 251). In his necessarily unsuccessful search for "the mind of the ancient world" he replaces historical criticism by exaggerated reverence, unable to see that truth is not the inevitable foe of appreciation.

M. I. FINKELSTEIN.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Storia della logica in Occidente. By CARLO PRANTL. *Età Medievale*, Parte prima, *Dal secolo VII al secolo XII*. Versione Italiana, condotta sopra la seconda edizione Tedesca da Ludovico Limentani. ["Il Pensiero Storico" sotto gli auspici dell' Ente Nazionale di Cultura.] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. xx, 469, 44 l.) Prantl's *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, which appeared in four volumes between 1861 and 1870, is still an indispensable storehouse of scholarly material for the student of logic and medieval philosophy in general. A considerable part must naturally be read in the light of more recent researches; some of its conclusions are no longer acceptable, and the attitude of the author towards medieval thought does not meet with favor today. But nevertheless it is the only great synthesis which we possess on this important subject, and the quality of its scholarship and the vigor of its exposition give it an abiding value. The entire work was published in a photographic reproduction by Fock in Leipzig in 1927. The Italian translator has seen fit to begin with the medieval part and has given us here the translation of the volume which covers the period from the seventh to the twelfth century, based on the second edition of that volume which appeared in 1885. The text is practically unchanged. No attempt

has been made to bring the work up to date. The copious notes, which constitute the greater part of the work, have, however, been carefully revised and edited.

DINO BIGONGIARI.

Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli e Schola Petri Abaelardi. Volume I, *In Epistolam ad Romanos.* By ARTUR LANDGRAF. [Publication in Mediaeval Studies, The University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, the University, 1937, pp. xlii, 223, \$2.25.) This is a commentary by an unknown author, whose reflections of the teachings of Abelard may possibly be traced to knowledge acquired from the oral teaching of the master or to a *lectura* by Abelard on all the Pauline writings. The text was written by a copyist between 1141 and 1152.

The Economic History of England. By E. LIPSON. Volume I, *The Middle Ages.* Seventh Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xii, 674, \$5.75.) This is a complete revision of a work which appeared first in 1915. New material has been incorporated in it, particularly in the chapters on the manor, the agrarian revolution, towns, fairs, markets, gilds, and the woollen industry. The additions have led to the enlargement of the volume by more than one hundred pages.

The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln. Volume IV. Edited by the late C. W. FOSTER and KATHLEEN MAJOR. [The Lincoln Record Society.] (Hereford, printed for the Society by the Hereford Times, 1937, pp. xxxix, 344.) This volume continues the admirable tradition of its predecessors and like them will serve as a model of editing. Miss Major, who assisted Canon Foster before his death and now serves as sole editor, contributes a short preface, and Professor Stenton a longer memoir of Canon Foster, accompanying the dedication of the book to his memory. The memoir creates for us a picture of Canon Foster's great work in making Lincoln's unrivaled medieval material accessible, both by founding the Lincoln Record Society and also by his own continuous work in editing. He had great knowledge of fact and a mastery of all the tools of the best modern scholarship. He published in all twenty-nine volumes, amongst which were not only authoritative studies of medieval manuscripts but also important works on the history of the church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This particular volume, begun by him, contains 357 charters of the west and north ridings of Lindsey. They are the record in the main of small gifts of land to the church made by small men, ranging in date from the middle of the twelfth through the early thirteenth century, with a few later documents. They include a few grants of men and their families—one of a man with his heirs and homage. They indicate the prevalence of the two-field system of husbandry and contain references to local agrarian arrangements, measures of land, rents, and similar matters of some interest. Like the earlier volumes of the *Registrum* the fourth has its full quota of notes, tables, beautiful illustrations of manuscripts and seals, and careful indexes. Three more volumes are promised to complete the series on the present excellent scale of editing.

N. NEILSON.

Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand: Annales Blandinienses, Annales Elmarenses, Annales Formoselenses, Annales Elnonenses. Published with an Introduction and Notes by PHILIP GRIERSON. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1937, pp. lxvi, 214, 30 fr.) This edition of the annals of St. Peter of Ghent and of St. Amand renders easily accessible to students of history very important material for medieval Flanders and excellent examples of a particular type of source material. It subjects the older

editions of three sets of annals, the *Annales Blandinienses*, *Formosenses*, and *Elnonenses*, to the critical and corrective standards of modern scholarship and adds a fourth set, the *Elmarenses*, heretofore unprinted but now combined with the other three by the editor. Annals of this kind, as is well known, developed from notes kept in the margins or between the lines of the tables from which the monks in various monasteries determined the date of Easter, using the astronomical calculations of Bede and Denys le Petit. Such notes developed in length and content, as is clearly seen in this particular collection, until they exceeded in importance the tables themselves—"the annals have become chronicles". They contain miscellaneous material dictated by interest in ecclesiastical matters, gifts to monasteries, earthquakes, miracles, deaths, translations, floods, eclipses, famines, pestilences, and references to great personages—emperors and kings, saints and bishops—together with some notice of current historical events, usually in very brief form. The editor gives in the introduction the necessary information on the dates and provenance of the manuscripts, their relation to one another, and to other annals now lost. The documents are fully equipped with notes on textual matters and with the elucidation of historical questions. There is a full index of persons and places.

N. NEILSON.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

The Court Book of the Barony of Carnwath, 1523-1542. Edited with an Introduction by WILLIAM CROFT DICKINSON. [The Scottish History Society.] (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Society, 1937, pp. cxxiv, 235.) The present volume supplies a transcript of the earliest court baron records preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, though some few earlier baronial court books are extant in private hands and possibly throw light upon baronial jurisdiction prior to the effective operation of the factors that were to contribute to its decline. Dr. Dickinson's text provides a picture of private jurisdiction falling into desuetude and mainly concerned with directing the economic and domestic life of the community. Perhaps the court of the small baron or laird never did enjoy the fuller administrative and jurisdictional rights that accompanied a barony held *in regalia*, but much of the still substantial criminal jurisdiction properly appendant to a simple grant *in baroniam* had passed by the sixteenth century to the royal courts. Only punishment for theft was permitted the court of Carnwath, and then only when the thief was taken "with the fang". The civil business of the court consisted chiefly of actions for petty debt, possessory actions, law-burrows, and the quasi-criminal actions of arrestment, bloodwite, and deforcement. As the fullest Scottish court baron record in print, the volume supplies useful information upon the constitution of the court, its machinery and procedure, the functions of its officers, and its methods of trial. To the text Dr. Dickinson has prefixed a learned introductory essay on the barony as a feudal administrative unit and on feudal jurisdiction in Scotland generally. Unfortunately little use has been made of comparative legal material drawn from England and the Continent, though the author might have modified his views in several instances, particularly upon the importance of the *absque introitu* clauses in Scots charters, by reference to discussions that have centered in similar but non-Scottish materials. Appended to the volume is a jubilee history of the Scottish History Society, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1936.

S. E. THORNE.

Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America. Edited by LEO FRANCIS STOCK. Volume IV, 1728-1739. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937, pp. xxvii, 888, \$5.25.) The fourth volume of Dr. Stock's exceedingly valuable series of extracts from the proceedings and debates of the British parliaments respecting North America covers the subject from 1728 to the outbreak of the war with Spain in 1739. The period covered is therefore much shorter than was the case with the earlier volumes, partly because of the multiplicity of the subjects treated, such as those relating to colonial boundaries, the logwood issue, and the whole South Seas question, and partly because of the inclusion of long extracts from various speeches in parliament, particularly of all that concerns the debate upon the relations with Spain. No one can doubt the value of these extracts, but they are lengthy and often repetitious and slow up the progress of the work. I am inclined to think that if the practice is to be continued in future volumes, some curtailment of speeches might be desirable. This is perhaps a hard saying, and I say it unwillingly, knowing well that the selection of what is important and what is not is one of the most difficult tasks confronting an editor. Personally, I have profited greatly by these speeches, for they make the dry bones of the official entries take on

animation and color and picture a parliamentary scene that is vivid and realistic. They also disclose the minds of the parliament members, not only on the matter under debate but also on many other questions that come in almost incidentally. But eager as I am not to see Dr. Stock's work slowed up, I must admit that I should find it difficult to know just how far to limit the use of this supplemental matter. For the editing of the volume I have only the highest praise. The introduction and footnotes are witness to the thoroughness of Dr. Stock's research and the soundness of his scholarship. CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Some Unpublished Letters of Lord Chesterfield. With an Introduction by SIDNEY L. GULICK, JR. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. 84, \$1.50.) Of these twenty-six newly discovered letters to Chesterfield's godson and heir, seventeen were dictated and signed during the earl's last illness during the eight months preceding his death in March, 1773. They complete the series of letters to the boy, which were first edited by Lord Carnarvon in 1890; in his volume the date of the last letter published was June, 1770. Since Dobrée's recent inclusive edition of Chesterfield's letters contains only four for the period of his illness, and those to persons less close to the earl, the chief interest of this volume lies in added biographical details of his last days. The education of the recipient of the letters, then a boy of seventeen engaged in making the grand tour of the Continent, is a main theme, and a memorandum on this subject, which completes the volume, shows some variation from Chesterfield's earlier educational plans for his heir. The explanatory notes are full and adequate.

GERDA RICHARDS CROSBY.

The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843. Edited with Introduction and Notes by G. P. DE T. GLAZEBROOK. [The Champlain Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1938, pp. xxvi, 472, xii.) Until the Hudson's Bay Record Society develops its program of publications this volume is likely to be unique. James Hargrave, who was stationed at York Factory shortly after the merger of the Canadian fur companies in 1821, built up an enormous correspondence with other Hudson's Bay Company servants which embraced the Pacific triangle (California-Hawaii-Alaska), the Mackenzie River and Hudson's Bay basins, and the posts on the St. Lawrence. Professor Glazebrook has selected and published in full 176 letters to Hargrave covering the period 1821-43. The most interesting are those from the chief agents at distributing centers like Norway House, the Red River, Fort Simpson, and Fort Vancouver (Columbia River). There is abundant evidence of the determination to cut down imports by developing agriculture and collecting fish and pemmican. Efforts at beaver conservation provoked endless difficulties with the Indians and between post managers. The dramatic retreat of the company before missionary settlement in Oregon is intimately portrayed. Naturally the personal lives of the fur traders are amply revealed. Hargrave's correspondents were tremendously interested in the revolutionary changes taking place in England and the Canadas, and periodicals passed from hand to hand across and around the continent about as freely as the cherished writings of Scott, Napier, Southey, Lockhart, and Cooper. There are many oddities in the volume, but only two can be noted here: the wreck of a Japanese trading vessel near the Columbia in 1835 and the transportation home of the survivors in the hope of opening Japan to foreign commerce; and a sudden passion among illiterate Indians at Norway House in 1839 to own books and to pretend to explain them to less imaginative barterers. There are a number of examples of hasty editing and indexing, but a patient reader can remedy them for himself.

J. B. BRENNER.

Letters of Queen Victoria from the Archives of the House of Brandenburg-Prussia.

Translated from the German by Mrs. J. Pudney and Lord Sudley. Edited by HECTOR BOLITHO. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 283, \$3.00.) Queen Victoria was an indefatigable correspondent. Hector Bolitho has uncovered another cache of her letters in the royal Prussian archives. Most of these are letters to the Princess Augusta of Prussia (queen after 1861 and empress after 1871) covering a period of forty years, 1849 to 1889. There are also letters from Victoria to successive kings of Prussia dating back to 1841. The letters selected for reproduction are accompanied by just enough interlarding comment to place each in its essential setting. Otherwise the editor has wisely allowed them to speak for themselves, and this they do most satisfactorily, particularly those to Augusta. For the period following the death of Victoria's uncle, Leopold, these letters stand alone in the amount of light they throw on the character of the queen. In them Victoria's rather cold and almost calculating attitude toward her children stands out in vivid contrast to the overmastering affection for Albert and the congealing grief that settled upon her with his death. These phenomena the candid queen not only states but analyzes and explains. "I have such a number of children", she writes in 1856, "that I shall be provided with them for many years to come." Yet in her greatest need she found the company of her children "no support". In later years she confessed that she doubted even their international value. Her fondest hopes of binding Britain and Germany by regal ties declined with the rise of Bismarck. General reader and specialist alike should find matters of interest in this fresh Victorian material, although for the latter it will serve rather to clarify and confirm than to alter previous historical interpretations.

W. MENZIES WHITELAW.

Pietermaritzburg Panorama: A Survey of One Hundred Years of an African City.

By ALAN F. HATTERSLEY. (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter; London, John Clark, 1938, pp. 126, 7s. 6d.) Seventy-five years ago, before the discovery of diamonds ushered in an industrial age, South Africa was almost entirely a land of rural settlement. A few towns like Capetown, Grahamstown, and Pietermaritzburg, none of them of any considerable size, served the commercial interests of a widely scattered and sluggish rural population. But diamonds and gold brought a peremptory economic revolution. Kimberley and Johannesburg became great modern industrial communities that dominated the life of the subcontinent. By the time of the Boer War the urban population of South Africa had outstripped the rural population. The history of a town, therefore, even of a town of merchants and civil servants like Pietermaritzburg, would be an essential part of the story of the inrush into South Africa of capital and enterprise and industrial labor that swept away the grave and secluded republics. Yet Professor Hattersley makes no attempt to write such a history. Instead he has written a pleasant book of the daily and intimate things in the life of Pietermaritzburg. Leading citizens, well-known streets and buildings, the first football match, a hoax by a British regiment, fashions—these topical and familiar things are the main concern of a book which is not without interest to the social historian but which will appeal principally to those who are personally acquainted with Pietermaritzburg.

C. W. DE KIEWIET.

Unfinished Journey. By JACK JONES. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 303, \$3.00.) The student of British social history will find this book an interesting case history of two families during the past fifty years in the now "distressed area" of South

Wales. The author, with little benefit of formal education, has developed from being a natural workers' orator into an excellent self-trained writer. After beginning with his father in the coalpits, he enlisted during the South African War and found himself called from the mines again as a reservist for infantry service in France in 1914. After demobilization his response to the economic disruption of his home region was to serve in succession as Communist, Labor Party, Liberal, and finally Mosleyite agitator during trade union and parliamentary campaigns. Obviously no theorist, he emerges from his own book as a kindly, impetuous human being who won through to a charitable attitude toward life and harsh circumstances. It would be hard to surpass this autobiography as an intimate picture of the clanlike existence of the men and women who live now above and now below the margin of the dole. Jones's own sons range from an errand-boy to an Oxford undergraduate. J. B. BREBNER.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Henry of Navarre. By QUENTIN HURST. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. 319, \$3.50.) In the history of France between the colossi, Charlemagne and Napoleon, there were kings of very varied sorts, to whom we are accustomed to apply the adjectives good, bad, clever, dull, headstrong, feeble, etc. Of them all, the king who has best established his reputation as a foresighted and able ruler is Henry of Navarre. Mr. Quentin Hurst shows us how intricate it is to follow the thread of his life in all its details. One must disagree with the author in a number of facts: "Henry of Navarre never avoided risks" (p. 23); he really was one of the wariest of men. "The plain . . . Diane of Poitiers" (p. 16); there is good evidence of her beauty. "Coligny was planning to give his idea of national unity a tangible expression by marrying Henry of Navarre to Margaret of Valois" (p. 26); the marriage was arranged by Catherine de Médicis and Jeanne d'Albret, not by Coligny. François de Guise "had saved France at St. Quentin" (p. 44); François de Guise was not present at the lost battle of St. Quentin. As to the attempt upon Coligny's life, "The ball struck the forefinger of his left hand and lodged in his right arm" (p. 31); it happens to have been,

his right hand and his left arm. Of Henry III the author says, "At Venice he wasted two months in luxury and debauch" (p. 42); he stayed there eight days. These, and there are others like them, are small matters, but they create some doubt as to the accuracy of the author's judgments in the interesting chapters concerning Henry of Navarre's administration, the reconstruction of France, and the "Great Design", which otherwise seem very fair and reasonable. In the bibliography the author does not include the best biography, *Henry IV* by Pierre de Vaissière (1928).

H. D. SEDGWICK.

The Clermont Assizes of 1665: A Merry Account of a Grim Court. Being a Translation of Abbé Fléchier's *Mémoires sur les Grands Jours d'Auvergne*, by W. W. COMFORT, President of Haverford College. Foreword by William B. Linn. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. ix, 291, \$3.00.) These *mémoires* have had a curious history. When they were published, in 1844, the outcries of scandalized churchmen, descendants of characters mentioned by the abbé, and outraged local patriots led to their suppression. Finally, the classic edition by Chéruel appeared in 1856, and a popular edition by M. Ferrand was published in 1930. President Comfort has relied chiefly on the latter text for his excellent and charming translation. The Abbé Fléchier unwittingly presented us with one of the most valuable sources of information for provincial France in the early years of Louis XIV's personal rule. The extraordinary court appointed by the king struck such terror into the hearts of the local nobility that most of them fled; so that while a few were punished for their crimes against helpless tenants and neighbors, many more were hanged only in effigy. The young abbé was just as much interested, however, in local society as in the proceedings of the court, and his gossip, shrewd comments, and humor are as entertaining to us as they must have been to Madame de Caumartin, his patron's wife, for whom the account was probably written. President Comfort's preface and numerous notes are helpful guides to an understanding of the text.

E. A. BELLER.

Lettres du Général Leclerc, commandant en chef de l'armée de Saint-Domingue en 1802. Published with an Introduction by PAUL ROUSSIER. [Bibliothèque d'histoire coloniale.] (Paris, Leroux, 1937, pp. 361, 40 fr.) The Leclerc Expedition, dispatched to the Caribbean late in 1801 to reconquer St. Domingue from Toussaint L'Ouverture and thus pave the way for the establishment of a vast French colony in the Mississippi Valley, suffered one of the worst disasters in the annals of overseas expansion. Three fifths of the 35,000 soldiers sent out perished of yellow fever, and another fifth died in combat. Considering the epic qualities of this drama, source material is surprisingly scant. Few returning had the heart to narrate the disasters which had overwhelmed them, and little save official apologies was ever penned. The authors of such face-saving justifications portrayed the dead commander as a blundering incompetent, and responsibility for the tragedy has commonly been placed at his door. But a hitherto neglected source of information, now made generally available for the first time, reveals a wholly different picture and necessitates a revaluation of the popular estimate. A total of 146 dispatches by Leclerc to his superiors between his appointment in October, 1801, and his death a year later have been located. They were addressed chiefly to Napoleon and the minister of the marine and are preserved in the national archives, the ministry of war archives, and the colonial archives. They constitute what is, in effect, the official report on the expedition and are therefore of priceless value. They are here published with five appendixes including Leclerc's instructions and letters addressed to L'Ouverture,

calling upon him to restore the colony to its ancient allegiance. They reveal Leclerc's thorough grasp of the complexities confronting him, his methodical projects for solving them in turn, and the success attending his early efforts. They do much to substantiate the belief always held by a minority that, but for the ravages of plague, St. Domingue would have been reconquered and that Leclerc would have emerged one of the dominant personalities of the age. M. Roussier's introduction presents an able summary of events. Several illustrations, a large map, and a good index (a rare phenomenon in French books) lend finishing touches to a highly important work. LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Försvarsfrågan i svensk politik från 1809 till Krimkriget. By ALLAN JANSSON. (Uppsala, Appelberg, 1935, pp. xxxiv, 724.) This work combines breadth of view with painstaking and exhaustive detail. The first section admirably welds together strategic principles, foreign policy, and the political aspects of defense; the second section is almost purely military. To an extraordinary extent French revolutionary experience and nineteenth century military theory are woven into the Swedish background. Technical and partisan discussion in Riksdag and press

is summarized at length, though it was often doctrinaire and futile. For example, pages are given to the argument between Forsell and Franc-Sparre on whether Stockholm should be fortified because it was the capital or because of its strategic position (pp. 111 ff.; cf. p. 75). Likewise the debates on steam power for the navy are amusing, though technical developments made arguments obsolete before anything was done. In analysis of the naval debates the author shows how decision between a skerries fleet of small boats or a few large sea vessels turned not only on what might be best for Sweden herself but on what fleet a probable ally would most value. Yet whether that ally would be Britain or Russia was unsolved for years on account of Carl Johan's stanch but unpopular Russophile sentiments. Discussion of land strategy involved chiefly the idea of central defense and withdrawal from the border. Among the topics of broadest interest in the book are: the concept of neutrality and its defense (pp. 155, 218 ff.); universal military duty and its relation to democracy (chapters 12-14); the dependence of government on the national will (pp. 58, 60, *passim*). The author has utilized an exceptionally wide range of literature including newspapers and most of the archive material, although he has missed the important Gustav Löwenhielm Samling in Riksarkivet. The most serious defect of this excellent piece of research is its ponderous form. FRANKLIN D. SCOTT.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Volume 197, May. (Philadelphia, the Academy, 1938, pp. ix, i, 301, \$2.00.) This issue, edited by Bertil Ohlin, the Swedish economist, is devoted to "Social Problems and Policies in Sweden". Eighteen Swedish contributors discuss various aspects of recent social developments in their country.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

The Charlatanry of the Learned (*De charlataneria eruditorum*, 1715). By JOHANN BURKHARD MENCKEN, 1674-1732. Translated from the German by Francis E. Litz. With Notes and an Introduction by H. L. MENCKEN. (New York, Knopf, 1937, pp. 178, xi, \$2.50.) Historians owe a debt of gratitude to Henry L. Mencken for reviving the name and fame of one of the most interesting practitioners of their art. Johann Burkhard Mencke (as the name was then usually written), professor of history at the University of Leipzig and editor of the *Acta eruditorum*, published large collections of ancient sources and wrote treatises on historical method and archaeology and on politics and jurisprudence, biographies, academic orations, and poetry. Travel made him acquainted with many of the leading scholars and scientists of his day and directed his interest to the history of intellectual achievement and of learned bodies, especially the English Royal Society. Of all his works that which won the widest popular success was the satire, *De charlataneria eruditorum*, first published in Latin in 1715, often reprinted in that language, promptly translated into German and French, later into Italian, and now, at last, into English. In this the author exposes to ridicule the tricks and foibles of the scholar's trade—the hollow pretentiousness of academic titles; the desperate efforts of writers to call attention to their books by giving them high-sounding names, dedicating them to great men, and claiming for them wonderful virtues; the conspiracies of mutual praise and of collusive attacks; the quarrels over priority and precedence; the minute and absurd subjects selected for investigation; and the boastings over esoteric discoveries, whether real or imagined. All this Francis E. Litz now exhibits to the reader of English in a book edited with an admirable biographical study of the author and copious notes by our great critic, wit, and scourge of quacks, Henry L. Mencken. Comparison of the translation with the original and examination of the added material show that both have been so well done that the reviewer fears to call attention to some trifling slips lest he should find his name, at some future date, in a satire on "The Pedantry of Critics".

PRESERVED SMITH.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Giovanni Andrea Serrao, Vescovo di Potenza, e la Lotta dello Stato contro la Chiesa in Napoli nella Seconda Metà del Settecento. By DOMENICO FORGES DAVANZATI. Translated by A. C. Dal Testo Francese, with a Preface and Note by B. Croce. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari, Laterza, 1937, pp. xii, 132, 10 l.) It was Benedetto Croce who, in his essay "Religious Life in Naples in the Eighteenth Century" (in the second volume of his *Uomini e Cose della Vecchia Italia*, 1927), revived the memory of the considerable group of bishops and priests of the Neapolitan kingdom who were very much under the influence of Jansenist doctrines. Prominent among them was Andrea Serrao, bishop of Potenza from 1782 to 1797 and author of various theological, historical, and juridical treatises. The Neapolitan Jansenists became devoted supporters of the doctrines of regalism and resisted openly orders from Rome. Having the full support of the government, several of them were appointed to bishoprics. In 1791, however, the king of Naples, influenced by the tragic events of the French Revolution, made an agreement with the pope and reversed his policy towards Rome. The Jansenists lost the royal favor and were then persecuted. No wonder that after the first Napoleonic invasion of Italy, when the Neapolitan revolution proclaimed a republic, the Jansenists were among the enthusiastic supporters of the new regime. Bishop Serrao preached a sermon in praise of the republic and presided at the ceremony of the planting of the tree of liberty. But with the restoration of the Bourbons in 1799 the Jansenists were imprisoned, some of them executed, others banished. Serrao was murdered in his bed. His friend and colleague, Domenico Forges Davanzati, bishop of Canosa, was exiled and took refuge in France, where in 1806 he published in French a biography of Serrao. It is this biography, of which only a few copies are known to exist, that now, translated into Italian, has been published. It is an important contribution to the history of Italian Jansenism and to the history of the conflict between church and state in the Neapolitan kingdom before the French Revolution.

G. LA PIANA.

La giovinezza di Cavour: Saggio storico secondo lettere e documenti inediti. By FRANCESCO RUFFINI. Two volumes. Second edition. [Collana Cavour, I.] (Turin, Modica, 1937; 1938, pp. 342; 351, 50 l. for both volumes.) This is a reprint of the fundamental and standard work on the youth of Cavour, which was first published in 1912.

Raffaello Lambruschini: Scritti politici e di istruzione pubblica. Edited by ANGILO GAMBARO. Volume V. ["Documenti di Storia Italiana."] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. vii, 750, 35 l.) This volume forms part of what promises to be the definitive edition of the works of a significant Risorgimento figure, a liberal Catholic, a distinguished representative of the moderates in Tuscany, and an apostle of elementary and secondary education, Raffaello Lambruschini (1788-1873), whom Gioberti, the leader of the Neo-Guelphs, called his teacher and *duce*. No one is better fitted for this task of editing than Angiolo Gambaro, who for many years has been the principal authority on Lambruschini. The explanatory footnotes and the identifying of Lambruschini as the author of many

writings hitherto regarded as anonymous give evidence of thorough scholarship. Objection might be raised to the editor's arrangement of materials in topical instead of chronological form, but this will probably always remain an issue when a definitive edition of works in several volumes is undertaken. Among the subjects covered in this volume are the 1848 crisis in Tuscany and other parts of Italy, the emancipation of the Jews, the agitation for constitutional government, the educational problems, and the position of the pope and the church in the movement for Italian unification.

Voci di realismo politico dopo il 1870. By ENZO TAGLIACOZZO. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari, Laterza, 1937, pp. 151, 10 l.) The four essays in this volume provide a critical and well-balanced review and evaluation of the thought of six enlightened Italian conservatives, each of whom made a contribution of the first order to a realistic understanding of major political, social, and economic problems facing united Italy: the Lombard Stefano Iacini, who acutely analyzed agricultural conditions in Lombardy and such issues as the extension of the suffrage, the desirability of a strong conservative party, and the relations between church and state; the southern Italian Pasquale Turiello, who vividly described the gap between governmental action and the needs of the Italian people; the Tuscans Leopoldo Franchetti and Sidney Sonnino and the southern Italians Pasquale Villari and Giustino Fortunato, whose masterly studies on agricultural conditions in southern Italy (including Sicily) revealed the real reasons why this part of Italy was in so many respects inferior to northern Italy. Common to all these public-spirited men was the conviction that progress was impossible in Italy unless the governing classes realized the differences between the "real" and the "legal" Italy and the existence of a serious "social question". Particularly with regard to the agricultural situation these men proved abundantly that Italy, far from being the "garden of Europe", *magna parens frugum*, was very poor indeed. Those in Italy and elsewhere who nourish the illusion that a realistic approach to Italy's problems coincided with the advent of fascism would do well to read the works of the men discussed by Tagliacozzo.

Carlo and Nello Rosselli: A Memoir. By GAETANO SALVEMINI. (London, 23 Haymarket, For Intellectual Liberty, 1937, pp. 71, 2s.) Professor Salvemini has written a sympathetic memoir of the Rosselli brothers, who were murdered in France on June 9, 1937, under circumstances briefly noted in this *Review* (XLIII, 236). Interesting information is shed on the antifascist movement in Italy and abroad, on the dramatic escape of Carlo Rosselli, Emilio Lussu, and Vincenzo Nitti from the island of Lipari, on the antifascist *Giustizia e Libertà* movement in Paris, of which Carlo Rosselli was a founder and a leading figure, and on the work of Nello Rosselli as a historian. Brief writings on the ill-fated brothers by Ernest Barker and by C. Bouglé, directeur de l'École normale supérieure of Paris, are reprinted in this little volume.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Hans Kohn

- Brünn: Geschichte und Kultur*. By BERTOLD BRETHOLZ. (Brünn, Rohrer, 1938, pp. 326, Kc. 40.) The historian Bretholz, who died in 1936, devoted a series of lectures to the history of Brünn, the capital of Moravia, where he had lived and worked for many years. These now appear in book form. They deal with the history of the city and its people from Roman times to the present. Much original source material is quoted, which throws light on the social life and habits of the inhabitants. A biography of Bretholz, many interesting and rare illustrations, a bibliography, and an index increase the value of the book.
- Mistr Jan Hus: Vzkazy Věrným Čechům*. Edited by FRANTIŠEK ŽILKA. (Prague, Kalich, 1938, pp. 98, Kc. 15.) Professor Žilka of the Hus Seminar of Protestant Theology published in 1917, at the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Hus, an anthology of his writings under the title *Hus for Us*. The purpose was to collect from his writings and speeches all the utterances of immediate interest for the present time and to show the personality of the reformer in the light of his importance for twentieth century Bohemia. In an altered form the book now

appears, with a new introduction, containing 157 quotations with exact references to their sources. Hus is shown not only as a religious genius but also as a national leader.

O Balbínovi dějepisci. By KAMIL KROFTA. (Prague, Melantrich, 1938, pp. 63, Kc. 10.) Bohuslav Balbin, who died on November 29, 1688, was a Jesuit who, in the "dark days" of the Counter Reformation in Bohemia, was one of the few to keep Czech national consciousness alive. In his famous *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, praecipue Bohemica* he tried to maintain the love for the Czech language, and he continued his apologies for the Czech people in his historiography, in the *Epitome rerum Bohemicarum*, and in his unfinished *Miscellanea historica regni Bohemiae*. The author discusses Balbin as a historian and points out his great service as the link between the period of Czech independence before the battle of the White Mountain and the Czech Renaissance in the nineteenth century.

Štefánik. Edited by JÁN SMREK and JOSEF BARTUŠEK. Two volumes. (Prague, L. Mazáč, 1938, pp. 310; 412, Kc. 140.) Milan Štefánik worked with Masaryk and Beneš in creating Czechoslovakia during the World War. He died immediately after the war. These volumes should offer the historian important material about the personality and the work of Štefánik. The first volume consists mainly of memoirs by leading Czech, Slovak, and French personalities who had been in close contact with Štefánik; the second volume is primarily a collection of documents but contains also a bibliography, an outline of Štefánik's life, and an index.

Flacius. By MIJO MIRKOVIĆ. (Zagreb, Hrvatska Naklada, 1938, pp. 213, Din. 22.) Matija Vlačić, known as Flacius Illyricus, was the leading Croatian Protestant who spent most of his life in Germany. His influence in Croatia was negligible, but the author tries to see in him a true representative of the best type of Istrian Croat.

Karagjorgje. By DRAGOSLAV STRANJAKOVIĆ. (Belgrade, Geca Kon, 1938, pp. 300, Din. 100.) This is an excellent history of the first Serbian national revolt under the leadership of Karagjorgje and a well-rounded biography of the man and of his wife, Jelena. It contains many documents, a bibliography, and about one hundred illustrations from the life of Karagjorgje, his family, and other leaders of the national revolt.

Petar II. Petrović Njegoš, 1813-1851. By LUBOMIR DURKOVIĆ-JAKŠIĆ. (Warsaw, Rozprawy historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1938, pp. xxxii, 242.) Peter II was probably the most important ruler of Montenegro in the nineteenth century, as important as poet and cultural reformer as he was as statesman and fighter for the liberty of Montenegro. He was the last of the Vladikas or prince-bishops representing the theocratic sovereignty of the mountaineer people. The author uses a number of sources from archives in Cracow, but the archives in Paris and Constantinople may still yield rich material on the personality of the man who established the life of Montenegro on new foundations and worked for the preparation of a united Yugoslavia. The author confines himself to the life and political ideas of his hero, postponing the consideration of his cultural and poetical activity to a second volume.

Srbija od 1858 do 1903 godine. By VASO ČUBRILOVIĆ and VLADIMIR ČOROVIĆ. (Belgrade, Geca Kon, 1938, pp. 195, Din. 40.) This volume of the collaborative history of Serbia in the nineteenth century (*Srpski Narod u XIX Veku*), which,

when completed, will include twenty volumes, deals with the history of Serbia from the dethronement of Alexander Karagjorgjević to the accession of Peter I. The authors succeed in disentangling the threads of this tumultuous period of internal struggles and vacillation in foreign policy.

Borba za narodno ujedinjenje 1903-1908. By JOVAN M. JOVANOVIĆ. (Belgrade, Geca Kon, 1937, pp. 160, Din. 40.) This volume follows that noted immediately above in the collaborative history of Serbia in the nineteenth century. The author deals with the first years of the reign of Peter I. Having participated in making the history of that time as Serbia's diplomatic representative in the most important foreign capitals, the author concerns himself mainly with the foreign relations of his country, with Turkey, with Austria-Hungary, and with Bulgaria.

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EARLE EDWARD EUBANK. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk: Sociologist. *Social Forces*, XVI, no. 4.

CHARLES SEYMOUR. Czechoslovak Frontiers. *Yale Rev.*, Dec.

RUSSIA

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Vlast' i obshchestvennost' na zakate staroi Rossii: Vospominaniya sovremennika [government and society in the declining years of old Russia: reminiscences of a contemporary]. By V. A. MAKLAkov. Three volumes. (Printed in Esthonia; a supplement to "Illustrirovannaya Rossiya", Paris, 1938, pp. 617.) Before the revolution the author was well known as a jurist, a noted member of the state duma, and a leader of the Constitutional-Democratic party. His autobiography should hold a place among the sources for the reigns of the last two Russian emperors. It offers much valuable material on the liberal and constitutional movement of the period and on the revolution of 1905.

Bibliografiia Russkoi Revoliutsii i Grazhdanskoi Voiny, 1917-1921: Iz Kataloga Biblioteki R.Z.I. Arkhiva. Compiled by S. P. POSTNIKOV. (Prague, Russkii Zagranichnyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv v Prage, 1938, pp. xv, 445, Kc. 60; \$2.50.) By publishing part of the catalogue of its library the Russian Archives at Prague, founded in 1923, has made an important contribution to the bibliography of the Russian revolution and the civil war, though in spite of the title it is rather a library catalogue than a scientific bibliography. A unique collection of the publications of all Russian groups hostile to the Bolsheviks as well as an impressive accumulation of journals of 1917 and of periodicals published both in Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Russia from 1918 to 1921 make the volume as important as the catalogue of the Russian materials in the "Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre" at Vincennes (Paris, 1932) and the *Tematicheskii ukazatel literatury po grazhdanskoi voine* (Leningrad, 1929). Among its rarest items are a whole series of secret documents from the archives of the Russian ministry of foreign affairs published by the sailor Markin in the winter of 1917-18 (p. 75) and the Red Book of the Cheka, published in 1920 (p. 245). Within each section Russian titles and titles in Western European languages are separated, with the unfortunate result that original versions and translations are never placed together and are sometimes even scattered in different sections. Still another defect, from the point of view of scientific bibliography, is too schematic a cataloguing in the Russian translations of the names of the authors, which are given only in the

Russian phonetic transcription. Under Nodo, Olar, Shou, D. Uord, etc., are hidden Naudeau, Aulard, Bernard Shaw, John Ward, etc. The specialist will be please to learn that a special list of the library's large collection of newspapers is in preparation.

FRITZ TH. EPSTEIN.

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- DOMINIQUE JACQUES DE EERENS. Napoleon's Russische veldtocht: Aanteekeningen uit het originele dagboek. *Haagsch maandblad*, XXX.
- CONSTANTIN DE GRUNWALD. De la révolte des Décabristes au soulèvement de la Pologne. *Monde Slave*, 1938, no. 3.
- NIKOLAI ZERNOV. Angliiski bogoslov v Rossii Imperatora Nikolaya pervovo: Vil'yam Pal'mer i Aleksei Stepanovich Khomyakov [William Palmer and A. S. Khomyakov]. *Put'*, 1938, no. 57.
- GEORGES KLÉVANSKI. La politique russe en Mongolie extérieure de 1881 à 1915. *Rev. Pacifique*, Jan., 1937.
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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Apostle of China: Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, 1831-1906. By JAMES ARTHUR MULLER. (Milwaukee, Morehouse-Gorham Company, 1937, pp. 279, \$2.50.) The career of Bishop Schereschewsky is one of the most striking in the annals of the nineteenth and twentieth century Far East. He was a Jew, a native of Lithuania, and in his youth was trained for the profession of a rabbi. In his early manhood he became a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. At his own urgent request he was sent to China as a missionary. There his marked linguistic tastes led him to devote much of his time to translation. Much against his will, he was elected and consecrated as a bishop. He became the founder of what was to become St. John's University in Shanghai, the pioneer institution in modern higher Western education in China. When fifty years of age he was stricken with an illness which left him physically an almost helpless paralytic. In spite of this, he resumed his work of translation and made a monumental and permanent contribution to Chinese versions of the Bible. It is this story which Professor Muller has told. In the preparation of the biography extensive manuscript sources have been unearthed and utilized. Professor Muller has a warm admiration for Schereschewsky and writes sympathetically. The biography, however, is not a panegyric but is a work of critical scholarship. At least two changes in romanization would be desirable in a second edition. Peking is better written Peking, and Lieo (p. 139) is probably more usually transliterated Liu. No serious attempt is made to point out the significant fact that Schereschewsky had gifts and interests which fitted him peculiarly for

kinds of work which were especially appropriate to Christian missions in China in his day.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

The Last Genro: Prince Saionji, the Man who westernized Japan. By BUNJI OMURA. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1938, pp. 442, \$3.50.) The career of Prince Kimmochi Saionji spans Japanese history from the Restoration of 1867-68, in which he commanded an imperial army, to recent cabinet crises, during which he has been the final advisor of the emperor. The historical importance and the impossibility at present of a definitive biography are alike obvious. Mr. Omura has selected anecdotes from the many popular articles and books about Saionji and has woven them into a biographical novel with a historical base. By ample illustration of the political role of *geisha* and *machi* (waiting houses), which the official histories omit, he has undoubtedly succeeded in popularizing a subject which would otherwise be unattractive to the great mass of American readers, for whom even the most indispensable Japanese proper names present a barrier of unintelligibility. In the process, however, significant questions have been neglected: many pages tell of Saionji's mistresses, few of his political accomplishments and opinions. The author has undoubtedly some foundation for most of his episodes, but since he provides neither footnotes nor bibliography, and since the innumerable possible sources are of extremely varied reliability, one can neither implicitly believe nor easily disprove most of the details. The general picture of Yamagata, Itô, and the other clan statesmen, which can be more safely evaluated, seems to be the fruit of one branch of Japanese political polemics rather than of mature scholarship. Nevertheless, *The Last Genro* is interesting and written in English unapproached by that of the translated volumes on Saionji which have previously appeared. Appreciated as fiction it gives colorful side lights on modern Japan as seen by a Japanese; it should not be taken seriously as either history or critical biography.

CHARLES B. FAHS.

Propaganda from China and Japan: A Case Study in Propaganda Analysis. By BRUNO LASKER and AGNES ROMAN. Foreword by William W. Lockwood, jr. (New York, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938, pp. xiv, 120, \$1.50.) The authors have compiled in popular form an objective analysis of the propaganda that has issued from both Chinese and Japanese sources since the outbreak of the current undeclared war. By a judicious arrangement of the material the reader is able quickly to discover for himself the conscious or unconscious art employed by the propagandist to achieve his purpose, which is "to give a particular turn to his [the reader's] thinking". The increasing conditioning of the public mind against propaganda in recent years has had the effect of refining the methods employed by propagandists. Little use is now made of the "downright lie", and they have "abandoned the design to hypnotize us into a belief that black is white or that white is black". Gone are the crudities of World War propaganda, which makes it even more incumbent upon schools in democratic countries to educate youth to an awareness of the propagandist's art if the individual is to preserve or develop a critical and independent judgment on controversial issues. It is of course too much to expect educators in fascist countries even to think of undertaking such a task.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

Washington: Sa correspondance avec D'Estaing. With an Introduction by Ch. de la Roncière. (Paris, Fondation nationale pour la reproduction des manuscrits précieux et pièces rares d'archives, 1937, pp. iv, 66.) This volume contains a part of the correspondence exchanged between General Washington and Count d'Estaing when the latter was operating along the coast of America in the summer and early autumn of 1778. It is printed from a packet of the original letters as they exist today in the Archives nationales. The letters by Washington have already been printed in Mr. Fitzpatrick's *Writings of Washington*, but from

the retained copies in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress. Some of D'Estaing's letters which appear in the volume under consideration have already appeared in Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*. At the same time, there are a few letters missing from this book, letters from Washington to D'Estaing which Fitzpatrick printed, and letters from D'Estaing to Washington which Doniol printed. Presumably these were not present in the collection at the Archives nationales. The main contribution, therefore, consists in putting into print some D'Estaing letters to Washington which have not heretofore been printed. The volume is beautifully printed and contains one facsimile of a Washington letter which should be examined by every editor and printer of "documents inédites" or of hitherto "unpublished manuscripts". It is far superior in reproducing with exactness an eighteenth century manuscript than anything we have seen done in America. One wonders how much longer we are going to continue to print huge volumes and long series of hitherto unpublished primary material, when by photography (even on films) the historian can get at the original documents? Every editor knows how impossible it is to reproduce every phase of a manuscript in mere type. The sole remaining excuse for turning such "lettres inédites" into "lettres publiées" in the future may be the ease of reading.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

The Constitution of the United States: Addresses in Commemoration of the Sesquicentennial of its Signing, 17 September, 1787. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1938, pp. 83.) This collection of addresses (delivered on December 7, 1937) has been brought out under the editorial supervision of Dr. Herbert Wright, who furnishes an appropriate introduction. The addresses included are: "The Philosophy of the Constitution" by Rev. Moorehouse I. X. Millar; "The Catholic Signers of the Constitution" by Edmund C. Burnett; "The Catholic Contribution to Constitutional Law" by Hon. William C. Walsh; and "The Constitution and Papal Encyclicals of our Times" by Rev. Robert J. White. The collection closes with remarks by the rector of the Catholic University, the Right Reverend Joseph M. Corrigan, of which the keynote is that the makers of the Constitution, in seeking a way to perpetuate liberty, were obeying the will of God.

Historical Records and Studies. Volume XXVIII. THOMAS F. MEEHAN, Editor. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1937, pp. 271.) The following papers are included in this volume: "American Prelates in the Vatican Council" by Raymond J. Clancy; "James Kerrigan, Merchant" by Sara M. Murphy; "Catholic Action" by Thomas F. Meehan; "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution" by William F. Mullaney; "Early Catholic Weeklies" by Thomas F. Meehan.

Uncommon Scold: The Story of Anne Royall. By GEORGE STUYVESANT JACKSON. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1937, pp. 161, \$2.00.) Old Anne Royall armed with her notebook and jogging over the United States in bumpy stagecoaches during the 1820's and 1830's is a figure worth remembering. Mr. Jackson has done good service in recalling her life and writings to social historians. True, the old lady's comments and descriptions should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt, but they furnish many interesting details, especially of the philanthropic and reform movements which she so thoroughly detested. The account of her trial as a common scold is a legal curiosity worth preserving. Mr. Jackson writes in popular fashion with detailed references to Mrs. Royall's works and to other

sources for those whose interest leads them to follow the lady's journeys and editorial work more closely. The accounts of Anne's early life had, of necessity, to be reconstructed partly from inference, but the biographer is careful to note the points on which he has done this. Possibly the author is overenthusiastic in claiming for Anne Royall greater influence on her times than belonged to Sarah Hale or Lydia Sigourney. She was more picturesque and vituperative in language than they were, and more vigorous in action. She was an interesting figure and a shrewd commentator, but her notoriety hardly gave her the position of leadership among her countrywomen that the lady editor of *Godey's* or the "sweet singer of Hartford" commanded. There are occasional inaccuracies in the book. It is probable that the reference on page 101 is to Lyman Beecher and not to his son, Henry Ward, as Mrs. Royall's *Southern Tour* was written before the son was well known. All in all, the book gives an interesting and useful account of an early nineteenth century character.

MARY S. BENSON.

Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America. Edited by HUNTER MILLER. Volume V, *Documents 122-150: 1846-1852; Document 151: 1799.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. xxxii, 1103, \$5.00.) The present volume enhances the value of this indispensable work for the diplomatist, lawyer, and historical scholar. Although there are 1103 pages, they include only twenty-nine treaties, conventions, and other international acts of the United States. The authentic texts—and this is the only publication that has reliable and authentic texts of United States treaties—take up only a small fraction of the huge volume. The remainder consists of the editor's historical notes, which give a documentary record of the negotiation, signature, and ratification of each instrument, together with an elaborate analysis of all technical features. Three of the most important and interesting treaties of the United States fall within these covers: the Oregon Treaty, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; and here is the most complete record of each that has ever been printed, studded with pieces not only from the archives of the Department of State but also from those of the other governments concerned. The historical notes include a careful examination of the various problems of cartography, and five useful maps are printed—one of them the celebrated Disturnell Map, describing the Mexican cession of 1848. The list of the publications relating to these treaties is a highly useful bibliographical aid. An exchange of notes in 1799 settling a small claim with the Netherlands had not been discovered when the relevant volume of this series was published; consequently it is included at the end of this one. As the volumes appear in procession, Miller's *Treaties* becomes the most important single publication for the diplomatic history of the United States.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Ukrainians in the United States. By WASYL HALICH. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xiii, 174, \$2.50.) This book is concerned with the more than 700,000 people of Ukrainian blood in the United States—the immigrants who came to America between 1870 and 1914 and their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. It deals with the causes of this emigration, the numerical importance of the movement, the distribution of the people in America, their occupations, businesses, professions, and social institutions. The author depends on secondary sources for the historical backgrounds of the people and for the bulk of his material on migration to this country. He has done considerable independent research of a historical nature in memoirs, papers, newspapers, books, etc. in connection with the remaining sections of the book.

The organization of the material is topical: "business and the professions", "organizations", "the press", "the religious life". While the study does not represent a significant contribution to method or add in any way to our understanding of the assimilation process, it is an excellent, well-documented summary of information of value to anyone interested in the Ukrainian Americans. The format and binding are in the usual unattractive pattern of the University of Chicago Press. Why should books in the humanities and social sciences be presented in jackets fit only to clothe the findings of a government geodetic survey?

CHARLES H. YOUNG.

The Study of International Relations in the United States: Survey for 1937. By EDITH E. WARE. (New York, published for the American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation by the Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xxvii, 540, \$3.50.) This is a valuable comprehensive reference work bringing up to date a 1934 survey of the same title and authorship. It includes materials far broader than the title would indicate. In addition to agencies "studying" international relations, a host of other organizations, whose activities only incidentally involve international relationships, are described. Foundations and councils which finance or inspire such activities are also described, together with various scientific, economic, and cultural organizations having international contacts which are deemed important.

W. C. COWLES.

The Constitution up to Date: Some Suggested Adjustments for the Federal Constitution. By CHARLES H. COLEMAN. With an Introduction by Phillips Bradley. (Cambridge, National Council for the Social Studies, 1938, pp. 48, 50 cents.) This pamphlet offers a revised text of the Constitution intended to adapt the instrument to what the author regards as present-day needs. Obsolete provisions, naturally, have been dropped, the provisions of the amendments incorporated in the new text, and the number of Articles increased from seven to nine, but otherwise the aim has been to retain the original language except where new prescriptions or enlarged grants of power are inserted. The chief changes of a formal or structural kind are four-year terms for representatives and eight-year terms for senators; the abolition of the Vice-Presidency and the election by the Senate of one of their number as presiding officer; the election of the President by popular vote, but with the choice registered by the present system of electors and the casting of the full electoral vote of the state for the candidate highest in the popular poll; the ratification of treaties by a majority vote of Congress and the ratification of amendments by legislatures or conventions of two thirds of the states, which two thirds must contain at least three fourths of the total population. The influence of New Deal theories in various other proposed changes is obvious. The right of Congress to delegate to the President the power to determine the conditions under which appropriations shall be spent is expressly given. State lines and state authority disappear in sweeping grants of power "to regulate commerce" and "to regulate corporations", and unrestricted regulatory authority over "the conditions of labor of persons gainfully employed for hire" is added. Federal conservation of natural resources and voluntary contracts with agricultural producers are specifically authorized. The right to keep and bear arms, on the other hand, has been ruled out, as also the right of jury trial in civil cases.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

American Imprints Inventory. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, W.P.A. No. 1, *A Preliminary Check List of Missouri Imprints, 1808-1850.* (Washington, Historical Records Survey, 1937,

pp. ix, 225.) This initial issue under the W.P.A. project of American Imprints Inventories is largely the result of Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie's personal investigations during the past ten years. It is issued by the Historical Records Survey, of which he is consultant to the national director, as a "preliminary" record "intended to serve for checking and amplification". Thus far the list has recorded for the period from 1808 through 1850 a total of 694 imprints, and McMurtrie believes that "many additional titles will be found and recorded" by the W.P.A. Survey. Already it far outstrips a list published in 1932, covering the same period, by William Clark Breckenridge and Francis Asbury Simpson, which recorded only 254 imprints. Even if considered, as McMurtrie says, "as an interim report offering a first contribution toward a future bibliography" of Missouri imprints, it does "provide Missouri historians with a useful record of local historical material", indicating where items may be consulted. We may expect equally good results in the other regional bibliographies for which Mr. McMurtrie has already laid the foundation.

V. H. PALTSITS.

Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, W.P.A. (Columbus, Historical Records Survey, 1938, pp. 134, mimeographed.) This is not the ultimate *Guide* which has been projected by the Historical Records Survey and is "actively progressing toward completion", but only "one hundred sample entries", chosen to show the scope of the work and to represent every state. The states are treated in alphabetical order, and for each depository included, the name, location, name and title of the chief custodian, and hours are given. This is uniformly followed by a paragraph on the "History and Purpose" of the depository, and that by a descriptive account of the "Holdings", to which are frequently added paragraphs of further elucidation. The lists of "Holdings", which constitute the meat of the *Guide*, are for the most part severely compressed, yet with sufficient indication (by names, periods, topics, etc.) to serve as first aid to one on investigation bent. It is planned to include full descriptions of holdings in the definitive Guides to Manuscript Collections to be published in the various states. The materials for the present volume were gathered by the several state organizations but have been supplemented and edited by Mrs. Margaret S. Eliot. Dr. Luther H. Evans, national director of the H.R.S., furnishes an explanatory preface. There is an index of the names mentioned under "Holdings".

ARTICLES

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XXXII, *Transactions, 1933-1937*. Editor of Publications, ALLYN BAILEY FORBES. (Boston, the Society, 1937, pp. xvii, 569.) The present volume contains, in addition to the customary records and other data of interest to members of the society, thirty papers, notes, remarks, and documents. The papers include a number of important historical contributions by recognized authorities.

Proclamations of Massachusetts issued by Governors and Other Authorities. Volume I, 1620-1775; Volume II, 1776-1936. Prepared by Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, W.P.A. (Boston, Historical Records Survey of Massachusetts, 1937, pp. 200; 201-354, mimeographed.) Anyone who wishes to know when, why, and what a Massachusetts governor, governor and council, lieutenant governor, or council all alone at any time put forth in the form of proclamation (barring of course occasional gaps) will be guided by this index, even if it does not supply all he seeks to know, to the place where he may find the source, written or printed. The favorite form in early days was a broadside, a form peculiarly subject to destruction (the oldest found in Massachusetts is dated September 22, 1670), and therefore much of this work is concerned with the location of broadsides. The method followed is to give the date of the proclamation, the executive authority, the appointment date (as of a Thanksgiving proclamation), the location, and a brief characterization (one to six lines). It is explained by Carl J. Wennerblad, state director of the H.R.S., that the materials were prepared by Carl E. Atwood and Dr. Stanley U. Marie of Columbia University, that the illuminating introductory essay was contributed by Winifred Olsen, and that the index was prepared by Annie K. Kirkpatrick.

A Puritan Church and its Relation to Community, State, and Nation: Addresses delivered in preparation for the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of New Haven. By OSCAR EDWARD MAURER. (New Haven, published for the First Church of Christ in New Haven by the Yale University Press, 1938, pp. iv, 208, \$2.50.) This useful and readable book is in direct line with Dr. Bacon's *Historical Discourses*, which grew out of New Haven's bicentennial celebration and were also written by the minister of the First Church. Following the familiar pattern of many anniversary sermons, it is a chronological narrative divided into chapters according to pastorates. The first half is frankly based on preceding works, with some additions from church records and other sources, such as the recently published *Letters of John Davenport*. The narrative is brought down to 1909, when the author became pastor. Earlier writers of such sermons did not always realize their historical value, but Dr. Maurer intentionally connects the history of his church with that of larger groups. Much well-known New Haven history is accordingly given—indeed the stories of the church and town could not be separated. Wider relationships are shown, for example, by the church's activity in the missionary and philanthropic enterprises which began at the close of the eighteenth century, by Dr. Bacon's work in connection with slavery, and by Dr. Smyth's in the struggle for freedom of religious thought and church unity. The character of the work was determined by its origin as a series of sermons. It has no footnotes, only a short list of books in the foreword, and no index. A municipal church today differs so widely from that of the times of Davenport or the "Standing Order" that an account of changes in administration and financial support would have been of value. Puritan churches are often said to be cold, but this one has "gripped and held the imagination" of the

writer, though he is "of a different ancestry" from his predecessors and "of a religious culture which they might consider alien". MARY HEWITT MITCHELL.

Colonial Hempstead. By BERNICE SCHULTZ. (Lynbrook, Review-Star Press, 1937, pp. x, 392, \$3.00.) The history of Hempstead is traced from 1641 to 1783, beginning with Richard Denton leading twenty-eight families from Wethersfield, Connecticut, to Long Island. These people were all English, independent in religion and of the exercise of Dutch authority. Separate chapters are devoted to the Indians and the Dutch, with both of whom there was trouble. "Running the Town", "Land", and "Making a Living" are the titles of interesting chapters describing the difficulties of agricultural and pastoral life, the latter especially, for the great plain on which Hempstead was located afforded food for many flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. "Life in Early Hempstead" gives even more details, often enlivened by the quaint spelling employed. In the chapter devoted to churches the Presbyterians, the Church of England, and the Quakers are treated at length. A lively account is given of the early Quakers, leading up to the career of Elias Hicks. The final chapters, dealing with "Rebels and Tories" and the consequences to the latter, are rather painful reading. One might close the book with the feeling that the independence of thought, which in religion led to the formation of a new sect, became somehow accompanied by a story of strife, culminating in the expatriation of many worthy people. Rereading chapter ix will serve to correct this impression, for it presents a word picture of comfortable home life, admirably expressed in some detail. The copious notes and bibliography indicate the diligence with which the author has consulted source material and support the authenticity of the narrative. The book is a valuable addition to early colonial history.

CHARLES W. LENG.

Richard Smith, First English Settler of Narragansett Country, Rhode Island: With a Series of Letters written by his Son Richard Smith, jr., to Members of the Winthrop Family and Notes on Cocumscussuc, Smith's Estate in Narragansett. By DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE. (Boston, Merrymount Press, 1937, pp. xix, 118, \$4.50.) The younger Smith's fifty letters, which constitute the chief historical contribution of this volume, throw light on the Atherton Company's maneuvers which embittered and prolonged the Connecticut-Rhode Island boundary dispute. An extensive Narragansett speculator, Smith, like William Harris, played a double game, siding by turns with both colonies, first urging Connecticut to put a "sudden" end to controversy by forcible possession, later taking a Rhode Island office when Harris and the Quakers triumphed, eventually favoring royal control and serving on the Andros council. There are various other items of interest: Smith's criticisms of Rhode Island democracy as irresponsible; his praise of Roger Williams's missionary work; his insistence in 1675, like Gorton's and Williams's, that the Narragansett sachems would keep the peace if the United Colonies did not goad them into joining Philip; and his references to his activities as frontier "merchant", including mention of beaver, tools, articles of trade, and shipping.

S. H. BROCKUNIER.

A Journal for the Years 1739-1803. By SAMUEL LANE of Stratham, New Hampshire. Edited by Charles Lane Hanson. (Concord, New Hampshire Historical Society, 1937, pp. vi, 115, \$2.00.) This journal of a Yankee jack-of-all-trades, who was a farmer, tanner, shoemaker, surveyor, and land speculator, served as town clerk and selectman, and was a deacon in the local church, contains little of political interest save, perhaps, evidence of his attitude towards the American Revolution, which he regarded as an unnatural civil war. It is mainly concerned with

economic conditions and price fluctuations, which may be of some interest to the economic historian. Its simple entries, recording the yearly state of the crops, drought and flood, cankerworm and early frost, may help to make vivid to the social historian an all but vanished way of life, in which man was still largely dependent for his health and prosperity on the forces of nature.

A. H. BUFFINTON.

The Portraits of John Jay, 1745-1829, First Chief Justice of the United States, Governor of the State of New York. By JOHN JAY IDE. [New-York Historical Society.] (New York, the Society, 1938, pp. xvii, 69, \$3.00.) This volume, listing over a hundred items and illustrated with twenty-five plates after paintings, prints, and sculpture, will interest laymen, collectors, and special students. It should find a place in many libraries and all museums. Portraits by Stuart, Trumbull, Wright, Boyle, and West are reproduced. Although the author avoided most pitfalls, several matters require comment. First, sources should be cited throughout, and especially in the case of item 3. The story that Trumbull finished a portrait by Stuart, using Jay's son as a model, has been repeated by Park and Bowen after Mason, who does not give his source. One might infer from item 3a that it may have been current in 1834, but the story remains unconfirmed. Again, item 13 cannot definitely be ascribed to Ames. Finally, item 16 might well be omitted. It is entitled elsewhere "The American Peace Commissioners" and purports to be taken "from life, 1775", but there is no mention of such a commission either in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* or in Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. Nevertheless, the catalogue is well planned, honestly executed, ably edited, and printed in convenient form. It constitutes another of the rare volumes relating to the portrait as a historical document.

GEORGE C. GROCE, JR.

A Chronicle of Industry on the Mill River. By AGNES HANNAY. [Smith College Studies in History.] (Northampton, Department of History of Smith College, 1936, pp. 142, \$2.00.) This study chronicles the industrial history of the Mill River valley at and above Northampton, Massachusetts. From fragmentary sources the author has pieced together sketches of the main industrial enterprises in the area and has traced their relationships from the earliest enterprises to the present time. In the records of this area we see examples of the business types that brought the early industrial development to New England. We see business enterprise applied successively to one product after another—wool, buttons, silk, sewing machines, tooth brushes—as opportunities for profit in new fields opened up and older lines became less profitable. We see local enterprise, profits locally accumulated, and local labor combining to produce for a national market, and the economic life of the area dominated by a group of local businessmen independent of outside control. We see, in the 1920's, how this economic pattern changed. Employment in the mills contracted; ownership and control passed out of local hands; local companies were merged with outside companies and then merged again. In the ensuing process of rationalization, Mill River plants were shut down. The depression carried further the process already under way. Although this study is primarily descriptive rather than analytical, the picture which it presents carries its own comment. It is a picture of the nineteenth century economy which survived, in such a community as this, up to the World War—local, small-scale enterprise, competitive, varied, expanding—and of the passing of that economy. Its value lies in providing content to our conception of the "old days" and in making it clear that the economy of those days is not

the one with which the Mill Rivers and the Middletowns—the nation as a whole—must now deal.

CAROLINE F. WARE.

The Memoirs of Julian Hawthorne. Edited by his wife, EDITH GARRIGUES HAWTHORNE. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 299, \$2.50.) One expects volumes of recollection to contain intimate revelations of the life of the subject and his contemporaries and to unveil, more or less refreshingly, the period covering the life span of the writer. Literary convention further prescribes a judicious sprinkling of anecdotal patter designed to relieve the strain of certain difficulties seemingly inherent in autobiographical writing. Julian Hawthorne defied these conventions and threw the prescription away. This volume is a long anecdote leisurely written, with occasional sober digressions. The book begins with a brief note "On Writing an Autobiography", in which Hawthorne informs us that he can really tell us little that matters, and the succeeding chapters are a demonstration of his premise. But it tells nothing only to "serious" students who will be appalled by the absence of an index and who will fume at the lack of organization. Such students will wonder why there is so little about Nathaniel Hawthorne in a book written by his son and why there is so little that is new about the great and the near-great with whom the son enjoyed the intimacies of friendship. Other students will find bright clues to the character of Hawthorne revealingly told and an occasional literary interpretation. They will find a refreshing reaction to the personality of Emerson and suggestive comments on Bronson Alcott and his amazing tribe. They will find Julian Hawthorne's experiences with Thoreau, with Lowell, with Franklin Pierce, and with the James trilogy. That is all they can expect to find, and it is no criticism of a book of this nature, frankly reminiscent and discursive, to point out omissions. Hawthorne did not know Darwin, but he knew his uncle, Horace Mann; he did not know Huxley, but he knew Longfellow. Hawthorne lived a full and interesting life, and part of it—albeit a very small part—is in this book.

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Kegley's Virginia Frontier: The Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days, 1740-1783. By F. B. KEGLEY. Introduction by Samuel M. Wilson. (Roanoke, Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938, pp. xxxvi, 786, \$15.00.) A more apt title for this volume would be "A Segment of the Virginia Frontier", for it is actually a collection of material on "Roanoke of Colonial Days". While the author gives, by way of introduction, a cursory account of the movement up the James and Shenandoah rivers, his treatment is sketchy and based largely on secondary sources. When, however, he reaches that part of the Valley which is drained by the headwaters of the James and the Roanoke—the section to which he devotes the major part of his book—he presents something far more substantial. Writing from the point of view of the local historian, interested principally in the families and the geography of the section, he dwells at length upon details of name and place. But Mr. Kegley realizes that a larger significance attaches to the subject. He knows that a number of the men who for a time inhabited the Roanoke section later became leaders on more distant frontiers, and to these he pays especial attention. He knows also that he is dealing with a small segment of one of the most significant matters in American history, the settlement and development of the frontier, and he has consciously tried to present the materials upon which an accurate history of one frontier community can be based. His work is, therefore, primarily a body of source material, taken largely from the county records. He intersperses his documentary matter with a considerable amount of text, but this is given by way of elucidation rather than of summation. A better arrangement could have been found, but the lack of dogmatism is refreshing. The author is particularly prodigal of details in covering the period of the French and Indian War. The county records have been so extensively searched that some light is thrown upon nearly all phases of frontier

life, except the agricultural. Only on the basis of such information as this book supplies can the history of the frontier be written.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY.

Archibald Cary of Ampthill, Wheelhorse of the Revolution. By ROBERT K. BROCK. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1937, pp. xi, 183, \$3.00.) Washington, Henry, and Jefferson, in the light of history, stand far above their compeers in the Virginia of their day, but they did not so appear to their contemporaries. They were only the most conspicuous figures of the greatest generation of men that ever lived in America: the planters of the Revolutionary period. There were a dozen Virginians at least who were not much inferior, in most respects, to the immortals. Of these now comparatively unknown leaders of the late colonial and Revolutionary periods few were more influential than Colonel Archibald Cary, of "Ampthill", the subject of this monograph. He was a member of the house of burgesses for many years when that body was the glory of the colonies. He took part in all the early movements of the Revolution, being chairman of the committee appointed to frame the Virginia constitution in 1776. He was at once a planter, a politician, a manufacturer, and a great gentleman, closely allied to Jefferson. Rather violent in his passions, he threatened Tories with tar and feathers and is said to have declared that he would plunge a dagger into the heart of Patrick Henry if that revolutionist ever became dictator—as there was some talk of his becoming. The author of this book, who is a distinguished member of the Virginia state senate, has done a most commendable piece of work in rescuing from oblivion one of the noted Virginians of the Revolution. Having few letters to help him, he had to dig into the legislative journals and into all sorts of places to collect the materials for his biography. The book is well written and deserves a place in every collection of writings on Virginia history.

H. J. ECKENRODE.

Seed from Madagascar. By DUNCAN CLINCH HEYWARD. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 256, \$3.50.) The successful cultivation of rice in South Carolina appears to have commenced with the introduction of seed from the island of Madagascar shortly before the year 1690, and from this circumstance is derived the title of this charming account of the experiences of the Heyward family as rice planters on the Combahee River. Representing the ninth generation of this family in America and the fifth to plant rice, the author in 1888 entered eagerly upon what he regarded as his predestined vocation, but the rice industry had already begun its migration to the Mississippi Delta and Texas with the result that twenty-five years later he was forced, like other planters of the South Atlantic region, to abandon his efforts. During this period, with the exception of four years (1903-1907) when he occupied the office of governor of South Carolina, Mr. Heyward was constantly in touch with the details of plantation management, and it is with these matters that the longer and more valuable parts of his narrative are concerned. Other and slightly less vivid passages sketch the historical background of the Heyward plantations with the aid of such family records as have survived. The whole story is told without bitterness, where bitterness might well be pardoned, and with rare understanding, especially of the character of the Gullah Negro, whose dialect the author is able to reproduce with authentic effect. Numerous and excellent photographs of the South Carolina Low Country by Carl Julien add measurably to the value of this interesting book.

J. H. EASTERBY.

Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History. By GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xvi, 935, \$6.00.)

It used to be said that North Carolina is a valley of humiliation between two mountains of conceit, that North Carolinians traveling abroad, when asked whence they came, would reluctantly admit that they were Tar-Heels but would hasten to add that they lived near the Virginia (or South Carolina) line. Without specifically intending to do so, Mrs. Johnson goes far to explain in this book how it came about that North Carolinians assumed an apologetic attitude for the shortcomings of their state. Perhaps the most outstanding reason for its backwardness was excessive rurality. In 1850, for instance, Wilmington alone had more than 5000 inhabitants, while there were only nine other places, including the capital, Raleigh, with as many as one thousand. As late as 1830 a legislative committee could report that North Carolina was a "state without foreign commerce, for want of seaports, or a staple; without internal communications by rivers, roads, or canals; without a cash home market for any article of agricultural product; without manufacturers; in short, without any object to which native industry and active enterprise could be directed, or which could offer a stimulus to exertion" (p. 115). Of almost equal importance as an explanation of North Carolina's backwardness was the intense intrastate sectionalism. The Mountains and the Piedmont were mutually suspicious of each other, and both hated the Coastal Plain, which in turn was contemptuous of the "hill-billies" and the mountaineers. Not until the 1850's did the beginnings of railroad building, industrialization, and slight consequent urbanization commence. The result was an educational, literary, and cultural awakening in the 1850's—unfortunately short-lived by reason of the outbreak of civil war. This brief statement of Mrs. Johnson's principal thesis fails to do justice to the immense detail of the book, which, in point of industry, accuracy, and painstaking scholarly workmanship, measures up to the high standard set by the Chapel Hill social science group and may well serve as a model for social histories of other states.

B. B. KENDRICK.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana. By ELI LILLY. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1937, pp. xiii, 293, \$5.00.) About fifteen years ago the writer of this review, while director of the Indiana Historical Commission, initiated a preliminary archaeological and historical survey of Indiana. Since that time there has been a growing and intensified interest in the study of archaeology in that state as well as in the United States as a whole. As a result, much new material has been brought to light and new methods have been developed for securing and interpreting archaeological data. The Indiana Historical Society, with the support of Eli Lilly, its president, has been one of the most active agents in the Middle West in supporting and carrying out a constructive program. One of the results of this activity is the present book. The purpose of the author was to acquaint his readers with the prehistory of the state and to encourage additional and continued research along archaeological lines. The book is well illustrated and contains a very satisfactory index. The text is documented by numerous footnotes, and the paper, printing, and binding are of excellent quality. While it is likely that the scientifically trained archaeologist might take issue with some of the author's conclusions, Mr. Lilly has made a worthwhile contribution to the archaeological literature of the present day, and such a book will undoubtedly contribute toward arousing a further interest in the so-called prehistoric history of America.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

New Mexico's Own Chronicle: Three Races in the Writings of Four Hundred Years. Adapted and edited by MAURICE GARLAND FULTON and PAUL HORGAN.

(Dallas, Banks Upshaw and Company, 1937, pp. xviii, 372, \$3.50.) This book, which the authors call an anthology of New Mexico's historical source material, is a collection of letters, diaries, memoirs, and formal historical writings, chosen to illustrate the activities of the Indians, Spaniards, and Americans in four hundred years of the state's evolution. It is the combined effort of a student of history, Mr. Fulton, and a novelist, Mr. Horgan. To call the work an anthology is to acknowledge that it is a highly selective one. The authors were necessarily limited by considerations of space, so that it might be possible to duplicate their activity acceptably without using their identical sources. The adaptations which they have made from the sources were, of course, subjective and limited by the interpretation which the compilers gave the volume for the sake of enhancing its novelistic value. Fifty sources of New Mexican history are drawn upon with such success that the reader ought to be enticed into a wider reading on each of the periods mentioned. The utility of the volume to the historian is in the bibliographical material. It is to be noted that the explanatory notes to the text are inconveniently interspersed with the bibliographical provenience. The work is well printed. The format is not unacceptable, but it is somewhat unconventional. The illustrations, twenty-four pages of so-called etchings and half-tones, are grouped in the middle of the volume, obviously to reduce the cost of manufacture.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

Early History of the Northern Ozarks. By GERARD SCHULTZ. (Jefferson City, Midland Printing Company, 1937, pp. 192, \$2.50.) "This book is an account of man's development in the northern Ozarks from the earliest times to 1860. The year which brings the narrative . . . to a close marks the end of the formative period in the history of the people who now inhabit this region" (p. 5).

Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890. By LEROY R. HAFEN and FRANCIS MARION YOUNG. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1938, pp. 429, \$6.00.) As these lines are penned, the daily press carries a news item reporting the impending restoration of old Fort Laramie for historic and recreational reasons by the National Parks agency of the government. In the volume before us the authors undertake to tell the story of Fort Laramie as a center of empire, affirming that the fort "was identified with the principal factors of western expansion" and that its story "is the story of the conquest of Western America" (p. 17). They have prepared an admirable piece of historical research and synthesis, and their monograph is probably as nearly definitive as can be expected of any comparable piece of historical writing. The character of the task the authors set themselves renders it inevitable, however, that their work will meet with commendation not unmixed with disapproval. It may seem strange at first sight that a 429-page history of a single frontier post should be characterized as sketchy; yet the plan of the work renders this judgment inevitable. The treatment of the Utah War, of the Sand Creek massacre of 1864, of the Custer disaster of 1876, of the Colorado gold rush afford illustrations in point. On the other hand, the book is needlessly repetitious. Thousands of travelers visited Fort Laramie, and most of them, apparently, kept journals, or wrote letters, in which they recorded their impressions of the place. The authors' method of quoting extensively from these documents, however conducive to scholarship, eventually becomes slightly tedious to the reader. Paper, binding, and other physical aspects of the volume are in accord with the habitual high standards of the Arthur H. Clark Company. To the reviewer the system of capitalization employed seems somewhat bizarre. The literary style is good, on the whole,

although an occasional crudity of expression detracts from this general commendation.

M. M. QUAIFFE.

The History of [Lower] California. By DON FRANCISCO JAVIER CLAVIGERO. Translated from the Italian and edited by SARA E. LAKE and A. A. GRAY. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1937, pp. xxvii, 413, \$4.00.)

California: A History of Upper and Lower California. By ALEXANDER FORBES. With an Introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley. (San Francisco, John Henry Nash, 1937, pp. xxxi, 229.) Without a foothold on the Pacific coast, the United States could not be as important a country as it is today. Yet few Americans know of the extraordinary sequence of fortunate accidents by which this region was held back from early occupation and populous development until such time as the United States was ready to appear upon the scene. The volumes under consideration are valuable contributions to the story. Clavigero's work is now, for the first time, made available in English. The author was a learned Mexican Jesuit, who lived in Italy after the exile of the Jesuits from Mexico. He had never visited Lower California. An able writer on many subjects, especially in the field of history, he prepared this volume in Italian as the last work in a long career, dying before it could be published. The English translation should give to the Anglo-American reader a fascinating story, as interesting as it is important to the student of Pacific coast history. The translators have done their work commendably, though unfortunately they begin their preface with a paragraph which is misleading if not wrong. There is an excellent index. Alexander Forbes, not to be confused with James Alexander Forbes (a contemporary, who was the British vice-consul in Upper California), was a Scotch merchant in Tepic, Mexico. Eager to bring about a British protectorate of Upper California, if not an outright British annexation (which he would have preferred), Forbes wrote a history of the two Californias to attract attention to his plans. The volume concerns itself mainly with Upper California and is more a description of that region, with a view to British colonization, than it is a history. A scholarly introduction by Herbert I. Priestley is a worthy feature of this edition. Both of these volumes are the last word in the printer's art, and they deserve to be widely read.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

- The People and Politics of Latin America: A History.* By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS. New Edition. (Boston, Ginn, 1938, pp. xi, 888, \$4.60.) For eight years

this book has held first place among college texts on Latin-American history, and now the author has revised it in order to bring it down to date. Much attention has been given to the Latin-American people, their origin, characteristics, and development. Cultural achievements, economic conditions, and the arts of peace have been emphasized rather than military pursuits and destructive wars. Two hundred and seventy-five pages have been given to the colonial period. Foreign relations are treated in connection with the historical narratives of the individual countries except when considering regional groupings and world relationships. The chapters on Brazil are especially good, for the author is an authority on that country. In this edition material has been added covering the last eight years of Latin-American history, and all the chapters treating the individual states now cover important aspects of current affairs. The final chapter brings to the present the regional groupings and world relationships of Latin America. Much new bibliographical material has been included. There are two new maps, and some in the first edition have been revised. More than sixty well-selected and interesting illustrations have been added. Many of the illustrations have been reproduced from photographs taken by the author during her travels in the Spanish-American countries. The new edition of this work will be welcomed by teachers and students of Latin-American history.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

La literatura en América: El Coloniaje. By ARMANDO D. PIROTTI. (Buenos Aires, Montevideo, 1937, pp. 223.) A compilation which classifies colonial writers of Spanish America and prints excerpts from their literature.

Los corsarios de Buenos Aires: Sur actividades en las guerras hispano-americanas de la independencia, 1815-1821. By LEWIS W. BEALER. (Buenos Aires, Coni, 1937, pp. ix, 267.) [Facultad de filosofía y letras, publicaciones del instituto de investigaciones históricas, número LXXII.] A useful study of a phase of the Spanish-American revolutions, equipped with a bibliography.

Historia de las relaciones entre Buenos-Ayres y el Paraguay, 1810-1813. By JULIO CÉSAR CHAVES. (Buenos Aires, Jesús Menéndez, 1938, pp. 269.) A survey of the relations between the revolutionary authorities at Buenos Aires and Paraguayan leaders during the early years of the Great Revolution, with a bibliography.

Baja California (La Península del Noroeste): Reseña Histórico-Geográfica. By CARLOS MEZA LEÓN. (Mexico, Dapp., 1937, pp. 30.) A survey of the condition of Lower California and of its problems.

Historia de la dominación española en México. By MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. Volume II. (Mexico, Robredo de José Porrua é hijos, 1938, pp. 237.) [Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, no. 9.] A Mexican view of Spanish rule.

Legislación del trabajo en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII, relación entre la economía, las artes y los oficios en la Nueva España. By the Departamento Autónomo del trabajo. (Mexico, Dapp., 1938, pp. 171.) This constitutes Volume I of the *Historia del movimiento obrero en México*.

Bibliografía de la independencia de México. By JESÚS GUZMÁN Y RAZ GUZMÁN. Volume I. (Mexico, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1938, pp. xxx, 438.) This is an installment of a bibliography of the struggle for independence.

A Study of Political Parties and Politics in Mexico since 1890. By E. M. BRADERMAN. (Urbana, 1938, pp. 16.) An abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in history in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, 1938.

Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain. III, *The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guatemala.* By LESLEY B. SIMPSON. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1938, pp. 170.) A much needed study of the repartimiento system in Middle America.

Señalanzas colombianas. Volumes I and II, *Cronistas primitivos; Escritores coloniales; Literatos de la Revolución; Escritores de la Gran Colombia.* By GUSTAVO OTERO MUÑOZ. (Bogotá, Editorial A. B. C., 1938, pp. viii, 318; 320.) [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional.] These volumes contain biographical sketches of more than four score literary celebrities of Colombia from the age of discovery to 1886.

Los fundadores de Bogotá. Volume I. By RAIMUNDO RIVAS. (Bogotá, Editorial Selecta, 1938, pp. cxxii, 307.) [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional.] This volume contains sketches of founders of Bogotá whose family names begin with the letters A through J.

La parasitología en Venezuela y los trabajos del Dr. M. Núñez Tovar. By DIEGO CARBONELL. (Caracas, Lit. del Comercio, 1938, pp. cii, 422.) A survey of the labors of parasitologists of Venezuela followed by reprinted studies of Dr. Núñez Tovar on that country's parasites.

La interpretación pesimista de la sociología Hispano-Americana. By AUGUSTO MIJARES. (Caracas, Coop de Artes Gráficas, 1938, pp. 83.) Among the essays in this booklet is one concerning the opposition in Venezuela to the Compañía Guipuzcoana.

Os Sertões. By EUCLIDES DA CUNHA. (Buenos Aires, Imprenta Mercantil, 1938, pp. 395, 409.) Volumes III and IV of the Biblioteca de Autorer Brasileños traducidos al Castellano. This has been translated into Spanish by Benjamín de Garay in two volumes bearing the title *Los Sertones*.

El pago de los lobos, noticias y apuntes. By J. R. ANGUEIRA. [Archivo histórico de la provincia de Buenos Aires.] (La Plata, Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1938, pp. 80.)

Crónica vecinal de Nueve de Julio, 1863-1870. By BUENAVENTURA N. VITA. [Publicaciones del archivo histórico de la provincia de Buenos Aires.] (La Plata, Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1938, pp. xii, 113.) This describes the founding of the frontier town, Nueve de Julio, in the province of Buenos Aires in May, 1864.

Los orígenes de Campana hasta la creación del partido. By JORGE P. FUMIÉRE. [Publicaciones del archivo histórico de la provincia de Buenos Aires.] (La Plata, Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1938, pp. xii, 157.) The founding of the town of Campana in the province of Buenos Aires, 1874-75.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations*, published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review*:

XVIII. United States of America

(11) Southern Colonies and States

Edmund Kirby Smith, *Soldier of the South*. Prog. 400 pp.
3 yrs. Joseph B. James, *Illinois*.

(13) Texas and the Far West

Frontier Defense in the Far Southwest, 1848-61. Prog.
2 yrs. A. B. Bender, St. Louis, Missouri.

The Journal of Southern History in its November issue (pp. 544-58) published a list of "Research Projects in Southern History", compiled by Fred Cole. Masters' theses and W. P. A. projects were not entered.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: six papers of Daniel O. Dunham, relating to trading companies in the Northwest, 1813; papers of Cadmus M. Wilcox, 1862-65; diaries of Frank Wigglesworth Clarke, 1865 to 1931 (thirty volumes); papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla, relating to Panama, 1903-1904; papers of Alfred Thayer Mahan; additional papers of Elihu Root; papers of Boris Brasol (thirty-six boxes); additional papers on Negro history.

Noteworthy groups of records recently received by the National Archives from the Adjutant General's Office include: correspondence and other papers of the Secretary of War and of the Headquarters of the Army, 1800-1903; original records of discontinued military posts, units, and geographical commands, 1835-1912; original muster rolls, 1818-65, and strength returns, 1812-98, of volunteer troops in various wars; manuscript documents and maps used in compiling the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*; and records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-72. A selection of military maps and maps resulting from geographical explorations and surveys, most of which fall between 1789 and 1894, is in process of transfer from the Office of the Chief of Engineers.

The transfer of most of the records of the Office of Indian Affairs through 1921, with some series extending through 1936, has now been completed. Received with this material were records of the former Alaska Division of the Office of Education, 1883-1931, and of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1869-1933. Other recent transfers include records of the Bureau of the Mint and of its predecessor, the United States Mint, 1792-1932; national bank examiners' reports with related correspondence, 1863-1930, and records relating to Federal Reserve notes and currency, 1914-36, from the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency; correspondence and other papers from the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1879-1930; practically all the records of the Forest Service, 1898-1915, including the significant "Pinchot files"; correspondence of the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department, 1862-1925; and records of the United States Shipping Board relating to harbor facilities, protection against submarines, co-operation with allied nations, recruiting of merchant sailors, litigation, and administrative matters, 1917-25.

Through the generosity of the government of Manchoutikuo the East Asiatic Collection of the Library of Columbia University has recently received as a gift a set of the printed edition of the *Ta-Ch'ing Li-ch'ao Shih-lu* (the authentic records of the Ch'ing, i.e., Manchu, dynasty). This edition, printed in Japan during the past few years, is a photolithographic reproduction of the Mukden manuscript, which has been reduced in printing to about one fourth of its original format. The printed edition comprises 1220 volumes (*pen*) arranged in 122 cases (*tsao*). The last ten *pen* consist of a *Mu-lu* or table of contents of the chronologically arranged materials. The *pen* are attractively bound in yellow paper bearing the phoenix design, symbol of the empress, while the case is covered with yellow cotton adorned with the imperial dragon design. Most of the three hundred sets printed will remain in Japan and Manchoutikuo. Some forty sets, however, are to be sent out as gifts to libraries all over the world, while only eight, it is reported, have been placed on the market. These intimate records of the imperial Manchu line, the last emperor of which under the Ch'ing dynasty is now the emperor of Manchoutikuo, cover the period from 1583 to 1912 and form one of the fullest and most reliable sources for the history of the period. The question whether or not they contain material not to be found in earlier available collections of state papers, such as the *Tung Hua Lu*, has been answered in the affirmative by Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak (*T'oung Pao*, XXXIV, 1938, pp. 223-27) and Professor L. C. Goodrich (*Jour. N. China Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, LXVIII, 1937, p. 31). Dr. Walter Fuchs in his *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie* (Tokyo, 1936) makes a thorough study of the entire question of the *Shih-lu* in its Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese versions. The work is an indispensable source for the history of the period not alone because of what new material it contains but as a final



check, thanks to the great care taken at the court in its compilation, on material to be found elsewhere.

The Missouri Historical Society has acquired "the large collection of letters, journals, and various other documents left by the late Solomon Franklin Smith, theatre magnate of a century ago".

The International Committee of Historical Sciences held its general assembly in Zurich, at the time of the Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences (see above, p. 290), the two sessions of the committee being on August 28 and September 4, with sessions of its bureau on August 27, September 1, 3, and 4. The American Historical Association was represented by Waldo G. Leland and Solon J. Buck, the latter in place of James T. Shotwell. Mr. Buck also attended the meetings of the Commission on Archives and Mr. Leland those of the Commission on the International Bibliography. Three new countries, China, Ireland, and Vatican City, were admitted to representation in the International Committee, bringing the total number of countries to forty-four. Five new external commissions were authorized: History of the Far East, History of the Near East, History of the Baltic, Ecclesiastical History, and Military History.

Reports from the commissions and external commissions were presented, which showed progress in the execution of most of the undertakings sponsored by the committee. Among these may be noted: international history of historiography; abstracts of historical works published in languages of small diffusion or in languages not generally read by Western scholars; publication of the tenth volume (for 1936) of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*; compilation of reports on teaching of history in institutions of higher learning in the various countries; near completion of the second volume (1716-63) of the List of Diplomatic Representatives; compilation of the second volume of the International Archives Guide, devoted to non-European countries; guide to collections of foreign archives preserved in the archives of the various countries; manual of archival nomenclature; study of abbreviations in historical editing; repertory of large-scale historical maps; publication of the second volume of the History of Constitutions; series of national histories of the opinion-forming press; handbook of the history of the press; bibliography of newspapers to 1789; handbook of chronology; iconography of the humanists; bibliography of narratives of voyages from Marco Polo to 1550; formation of a journal devoted to military history; dictionary of ideas of literary history; corpus of Roman coins; guide to sources of social history in France, 1815-71; study of political emigration; collection of instructions to colonial governors.

An invitation to hold the Ninth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome in 1943 was referred by the bureau to the next general assembly of the committee, which is to be held in Prague in May, 1939. An

invitation to hold a later general assembly of the committee in Algeria in 1941 or 1942 was received and was also referred to the general assembly of 1939. The quinquennial election of officers and members of the bureau resulted as follows: *president*, Waldo G. Leland (United States of America); *vice presidents*, Nicolas Jorga (Rumania), Hans Nabholz (Switzerland); *general secretary*, Michel Lhéritier (France); *treasurer*, Ernest L. Woodward (Great Britain); *assessors*, François Ganshof (Belgium), Marcel Handelsman (Poland), Robert Holtzmann (Germany), Giocchino Volpe (Italy). Harold W. V. Temperley, retiring president of the committee, was elected honorary counselor for life, the other honorary counselor being Halvdan Koht, president of the committee from 1926 to 1933. The legal headquarters of the committee, which follow the residence of the treasurer, were transferred from Zurich to Oxford, the change to be effective on January 1.

The historians of the Scandinavian countries will hold their next joint meeting—the last was at Stockholm in 1936—at Copenhagen from June 27 to July 2, 1939. Discussions in the general sessions will center on five main topics, one of which will relate to the present international scene as it affects the countries of Northern Europe.

A new historical society, Centro de Estudios Históricos Genaro Estrada, was established in Mexico City last April with the object of encouraging investigations in Mexican history, especially in its less well known phases. The name of the late Genaro Estrada, distinguished diplomatist and promoter of historical studies, symbolizes the aims which the founders of the society have in view. They hope to begin the publication of important documentary materials and monographs at an early date.

The first number of *La Rinascita*, a quarterly devoted to the Renaissance and edited by Giovanni Papini, appeared in January, 1938. It is the organ of the Centro nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, an institution founded and financed by the Italian government. The address of the quarterly is Palazzo Di Parte Guelfa, Florence.

Announcement has been made that the University of Notre Dame will publish, beginning in the current January, a quarterly journal, *The Review of Politics*, devoted to "political realities and their theoretical, historical, and philosophical backgrounds". The editors are Waldemar Gurian, F. A. Hermens, and F. J. O'Malley.

Progress of Mediaeval Studies in the United States and Canada, a bulletin which has been published by the Mediaeval Academy of America and the University of Colorado, annually before 1935 and biennially since, is to be continued as an annual publication by the University of Colorado alone. The next issue will appear in March of the present year. Beginning with the 1940

issue the bulletin will contain a new feature, review articles on selected fields of medieval studies.

The seventh volume of *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France*, compiled by the Office of Naval Records and Library, U. S. Navy Department, is now available at \$3.50 per copy. This is the final volume of the series. Persons desiring copies should address the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. The Navy Department is preparing to continue the publication of old naval documents, and the next series will relate to the war between the United States and the Barbary powers. We regret that the Government Printing Office is unable to distribute copies of *Naval Documents* for review and that consequently it has not been possible for us to give these volumes extended notice.

The four hundredth anniversary of the Coronado expedition, which is to be celebrated this year, gives special interest to Coronado's lost muster roll, which Professor Arthur S. Aiton was fortunate enough to discover recently in the Archives of the Indies. This document will be published in our April issue.

The first of the John Franklin Jameson Lectures in American Life and Culture was delivered at Brown University in the Faunce House Art Gallery on November 16. The series will be concluded on April 12. The subject of the lectures is "The Colonial New England Town", various aspects of which, including government, commerce, religion, the press, architecture, painting, music, and literature, are dealt with separately. The Jameson Lectures are the first of the Brown University Lectures, a series established in the spring of 1938 to be given from time to time on subjects especially connected with the scholarly interests of the Brown faculty.

Dr. C. I. Kephart and Mr. Milton Rubincam are collecting materials for a history of the Rittenhouse family, originally of Germantown. They would be grateful if persons who have information regarding papers of any members of the family or other relevant documents would communicate with Dr. Kephart, 3016, 5th Street, N., Arlington, Virginia.

PERSONAL

Professor Alexandre Moret, the distinguished Egyptologist and editor of the *Revue égyptologique*, died on February 2 at the age of seventy. He was a member of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres and a professor in the Collège de France and in the École des hautes études. His most important researches were in the field of Egyptian culture in its religious expressions.

Among his more important books are: *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en*

Égypte, Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique, Les mystères égyptiens, La magie dans l'Égypte ancienne, and La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte.

Francis Albert Christie, professor of church history in the Meadville (Pennsylvania) Theological Seminary from 1893 to 1926 and since then professor emeritus, died on August 3, after a brief illness, at the age of seventy-nine. Professor Christie graduated at Amherst in 1881 and later studied at the Johns Hopkins University and in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Marburg. He was one of the leading American scholars in the field of church history, his contributions taking the form chiefly of articles and reviews in the *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, in the *American Historical Review*, and in numerous other learned journals. Among his more notable articles in the *Dictionary of American Biography* should be mentioned those on Jonathan Edwards and Theodore Parker. After his retirement from active teaching he resided in Lowell, Massachusetts, which was also his birthplace, and there he took an active part in many community activities, chiefly those of a historical character. Amherst granted him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity in 1909. Among the members of the American Historical Association he had many devoted friends, one of the most intimate of these being the late John Franklin Jameson, who was a fellow student of his at Amherst. Those who regularly participated in the Convivium Historicum at Branford, Connecticut, of which Dr. Jameson was the animator and center, remember Christie as one of the most faithful of attendants and lovable of associates.

William Harrison Moreland, one of the leading authorities on the Mughul period of Indian history, died on September 28 at the age of seventy. After studying at Cambridge he entered the Indian Civil Service in 1886. After his retirement from active service in 1914 he wrote a number of important historical works, including *India at the Death of Akbar* (1920), *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (1923), and *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (1929). He contributed a chapter on "The Revenue System of the Mughul Empire" to Volume IV of the *Cambridge History of India*.

Karl Kautsky, who died on October 17 at the age of eighty-four, was the last and greatest of the group of intellectuals who knew Karl Marx personally and helped to found and build the Marxian school of history and economics. Born at Prague of a Czech-German family of artists and writers, he lived most of his long life in Austria, Switzerland, and Germany. He was the ideological arbiter of the German Social Democratic party and of the Second International and engaged in protracted polemics, on the one hand, with Eduard Bernstein and the "Reformists", and, on the other hand, with Lenin and the Russian Communists. Among his voluminous writings, special

historical value attaches to *The Influence of Population Growth upon the Progress of Society*, *Jefferson's Relation to the French Revolution*, *The Origin of Marriage and the Family*, *Class Conflicts of the French Revolution*, *Thomas More*, *Thomas Muenzer*, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History*, *Growth and Development in Nature and Society*. Kautsky opposed the World War, and after its close he compiled, at the request of Ebert's revolutionary government, the four well-known volumes of *German Documents on the Origins of the War* and wrote *How the War Came*. His most important postwar work was the two-volume study of *Historical Materialism*. Kautsky returned to Vienna in 1925, and thence, following the *Anschluss* of March, 1938, he fled, destitute and broken in heart and body, to Amsterdam, where he died.

Geheimrat Professor Erich C. Marcks died on November 24 in Berlin at the age of seventy-seven. Born at Magdeburg, Professor Marcks received his academic training at the universities of Strasbourg, Bonn, and Berlin. He became Privatdozent at the University of Berlin in 1887, and within the short space of five years was called as Ordentlicher Professor to the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. From there he moved to the universities of Leipzig, Heidelberg, Hamburg, Munich, and Berlin, where he retired in 1928. His historical writing lay mainly in the periods of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and he followed the best tradition of German scholarship by working in foreign as well as German history. Among his most noted works on foreign history are the first volume of a proposed extensive biography of Coligny and a short biography of Queen Elizabeth. His name is most closely associated, however, with the study of Bismarck and the period of German unification, and his last large-scale publication appeared in 1936 in two volumes, *Der Aufstieg des Reiches: Deutsche Geschichte von 1807-1871/8*. Professor Marcks endeared himself to many American students who studied under him by his kindly interest in them and their work. His lectures, like his writings, were models of clarity and elegance. He had an unusual gift of biographical insight, which was enhanced by his deep appreciation of arts and letters as well as of politics. Throughout his life he remained devoted to the Germany of the Bismarckian era, but in his old age he publicly accepted National Socialism.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Adelphi College*, Courtney Robert Hall to be associate professor; *Fordham University, School of Education*, Sylvester J. Hemleben to be associate professor and Lawrence J. Mannion to be assistant professor; *Millsaps College*, Ross H. Moore to be professor; *Ohio State University*, George A. Washburne to be chairman of the department and Eugene H. Roseboom, Henry H. Simms, and Francis P. Weisenburger to be associate professors.

The following appointments are noted: *University of Nevada*, Anatole

G. Mazour as assistant professor; *Ohio State University*, Warner F. Woodring of Allegheny College as professor.

The Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Vernon D. Tate, formerly chief of the Division of Photographic Reproduction and Research, as chief of the new professional Division of Photographic Archives and Research and the resignation of G. Leighton LaFuze, formerly in the Division of Classification, to accept a position as professor of history and political science in the John B. Stetson University. Emmett J. Leahy, of the Division of Treasury Department Archives, is making a round-the-world tour, during which he will study the archival activities of various foreign countries.

Guy S. Klett has been made research historian for the department of history of the office of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This position has been created for the purpose of carrying on extensive research in the field of Presbyterian history.

Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, recently president of the American Historical Association, was elected president of the University of Minnesota by the Board of Regents in October. Dr. Ford had long been dean of the Graduate School of the university and had been acting president since 1937.

Nelson P. Mead, head of the department of history of the College of the City of New York, was made acting president of the college for the present academic year.

Dr. J. H. Landman is visiting professor at the University of the Philippines, lecturing on the diplomatic history of the United States in the twentieth century. He is on leave of absence from the College of the City of New York.

Theodore C. Pease, editor, and Ernestine Jenison, assistant editor of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, will end their connection with the series on July 1. At that date the University of Illinois will terminate its thirty years' co-operation with the Illinois State Historical Library in the editing of the *Collections*. Mr. Pease will resume full time teaching in the University of Illinois.

Edward Allen Whitney, associate professor of history and literature in Harvard University and a research fellow of the Huntington Library, gave a series of lectures in November at the California Institute of Technology on the English Renaissance.

Professor Edward Mead Earle of the Institute for Advanced Study will give a seminar and a series of lectures on American foreign policy at the California Institute of Technology during the second term of the present academic year.



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